

1: Gifford

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[For information on mythical ancestors, the founding of lineages, and further information on names, see Category 613, pp. 29-38.]

- Apaapa.** The alofi (the place occupied by chiefs in a kava party) of the Tui Tonga's kava party. A mark of respect and attention to the conversation of the Tui Tonga.
- El kaa.** The affirmative, spoken in answer to the call or command of the Tui Tonga.
- Fakahahe.** To vomit (Tui Tonga).
- Fakalaa.** Chief woman making coconut oil in the sun. The same operation by a common woman is called *tanakilele*.
- Fakamao.** The tapa belt of the Tui Tonga.
- Fakanefo.** Coronation.
- Fakataufolofola.** To address the King; chief language.
- Falealo.** The family or children of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha.
- Felapalapasi.** Chiefs to kill each other secretly.
- Fietaumafa.** The hunger of the Tui Tonga.
- Finangalo.** The mind, applied to the Tui Tonga, nowadays to the King and the Deity.
- Folofola.** Word, speech, addressed only to the Tui Tonga or the Deity, and nowadays to the King; not applicable to private persons or even chiefs.
- Feloha.** The hair of the Tui Tonga.
- Haele.** To appear, applied to the gods, the Tui Tonga, and the King.
- Hala.** Demise, applied to the Tui Tonga and Tamaha, also to the King; a sacred club.
- Hau.** The attendants (*takanga*) of the Tui Tonga; a conqueror, a reigning prince; the "tribe" of the King, as *fashinga* as Hau.
- Hohaa.** The beard of chiefs.
- Huafa.** Name, applied only to gods, king, chiefs.
- Lakofila.** Well in health, used to (or of) the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pelehake, and the King.
- Lakofua.** Well in health, used of the Tui Tonga, now used of the King.
- Langi.** The head or face of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha; his burying place.
- Osikanga.** Finished being seasick (a term used of chiefs).
- Oua e takavale ai finangalo.** A formal remonstrance to the Tui Tonga against the many tasks he has set for one to do in a single day, or in a too short period of time. Only the highest ranking *matapule* could use this remonstrance.
- Puluhi.** Sickness of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha.
- Puluhia.** Death of the Tui Tonga.
- Pupuluhi.** Slightly afflicted, applied to the Tui Tonga.
- Sinifu.** The collective name of the women of the harem of the Tui Tonga.
- Tashine.** Daughter of the Tui Tonga (daughter of other chiefs called *tefine*; daughter of lower orders called *finemotua*).
- Tamaail.** The son of the Tui Tonga.
- Taumafa.** To eat, applied to the Tui Tonga, but now used to high chiefs.
- Tuaki.** To cut the hair of the Tui Tonga.
- Uluvail.** The name of a person killed at the burial of the Tui Tonga.
- Umeumeel.** For the Tui Tonga to strike or whip his small sons.
- Uta.** Inland, land, on shore; the cargo or freight of a vessel; applied to the Tui Tonga and persons of his rank.
- Vaavaakaka.** Poorly, not well (the Tamaha).

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#### CHIEFS

All of the modern chiefs of Tonga trace their relationship ultimately to the first Tui Tonga, the son of Tangaloa Eitumatupua, the sky god. More immediately many trace their relationship to the Tui Kanokupolu, but as

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his high position is derived from the Tui Tonga, chiefness is an attribute which flows from the sovereign, the Tui Tonga. <sup>622</sup><sub>[643]</sub>

The chiefs of Tonga collectively are called *houeiki* (*hou*, a collective prefix; *eiki*, chief). According to one informant (Puleti of Nukualofa) <sup>773</sup><sub>[643]</sub> the term *houeiki* applies only to the Tamaha, the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pelehake, and the Tui Haa Takalaua, and denotes their celestial origin. (Actually only the first Tui Tonga and the first Tui Pelehake descended from heaven according to mythology, the Tamaha and Tui Haa Takalaua being later developments.) Puleti characterized all other chiefs as "braves" (*toa*) and "chiefs by the hand" (*eiki i he nima*), that is, chiefs who won their rank with the club on the battlefield, a characterization which seems subjective.

The arbitrary powers of chiefs, as described by Cook, Labillardière, <sup>622</sup><sub>[643]</sub> Mariner, and others, are no longer exercised. Occasionally a chief horse-whips one of his subjects (I learned of one who whipped two young men <sup>178</sup><sub>[689]</sub> who walked past his house smoking cigarettes), but the use of the club has entirely disappeared.

The ideal combination for chiefly rank is that both parents be of chiefly blood. <sup>622</sup><sub>[643]</sub> The offspring of a chief and a commoner are spoken of as half-chiefs, or, as the Tongans express it, "half-shell" (*ngeesi taha*). A chief may chide a half-chief by saying, "Ah, you half-shell." (The term *vaataha*—one branched—also refers to a person whose parentage is half chief, half commoner.) However, such a person as the son of Jioeli Pangia (who would be Tui Tonga if the office were not abolished) by a wife of low status would be *eiki* because of his father's royal blood.

The children of a woman of chiefly rank and a commoner also are spoken <sup>554</sup> of as "half-chiefs" although they are regarded more highly than the offspring of a male chief and a female commoner.

The terms *eikimotu*, *cikitaupotu*, and *eikitoho* refer to a chief of highest rank, literally a chief of chiefs. The term *cikisii* means a petty chief. The term *eikianga* designates the residence and government of a chief.

So far I have been using the term chief in a loose sense, meaning any person with chiefly blood in his veins and not necessarily the holder of a title. The Tongan expression for title is *hingoa fakanofu* (literally, appointment name). I have been at pains to explain that only one person holds a title at a time, and that within a given family no two siblings are identical in rank. This statement of the situation is paralleled by what Mariner says of his four classes of society: *eiki*, *matapule*, *mua*, and *tua*. This is undoubtedly stating the situation in too ideal a form, but it nevertheless conveys a conception of gradation in rank. <sup>622</sup><sub>[554]</sub>

It seems unlikely that anciently people selected their chiefs, except in so far as a choice was made between eligible candidates. However, the first <sup>798</sup>

laid upon her side to sleep. This sleeping position (*tokonaki*), lying on the shoulder with the arms straightened, prevented the elbows from being exposed to pressure or other contact that would mar their beauty. The tying of the knees was for the express purpose of insuring the maiden against sexual attack on the part of a foolish lover or malicious enemy.

A chief's daughter or chief's women of youth and beauty sit with the feet half folded under and crossed at one side in a manner as to protect the ankle bones from possible pressure against a hard surface, a position known as *faita*, thus insuring a smooth skin over the ankles, a mark of beauty.

The "corset" (*nonoo*) for chief-girls consists of a short piece of tapa wrapped about the small of the waist and the abdomen and tied in front. Its purpose is to suppress the abdomen and give the waist a small appearance.

#### LOAU

A famous chief in Tongan legends is Loau who is called the Tui Haamea from Haamea, a district in Vahe Loto, Tongatabu, which according to a prominent Vavau informant was the seat of residence of the Tui Haamea, Tui Haa Loau, and the Tui Haa Tuunga.

The origin of Loau is unknown. There were two and perhaps three chiefs of the name of Loau. The earlier seems to be Loau Tuputoka who is mentioned in the story of the turtle Sangone (26, pp. 49-54). A second Loau bears the additional appellation of Tongafisifonua and to him is attributed the voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152). A possible third Loau is he to whom is attributed the revision of the government of the Tui Tonga Takalaua. Apparently Loau Tuputoka became the father-in-law of the tenth Tui Tonga, Momo. According to an informant of the island of Foa, three formerly important Haapai chiefs were the offspring of Loau: Taufua Tofua of Tofua Island, Fanua Lofanga of Lofanga Island, and Kava Moungaone of Moungaone Island. These sons were sent to their respective abodes in Haapai while Loau continued to reside in Haamea in Tongatabu. The name of his residence (*api*) was Maananga.

Loau is said to have been able to foretell the future and to have cognizance of distant contemporary events; whence arose the saying, *toka i maananga* (first in *maananga*), an expression used to-day as equivalent of omniscient in speaking of the Deity. Whether or not these are attributes of all of the Loau chiefs or only one, I cannot say.

Loau is said also to have resided in Lifuka Island and a district there is still called Haa Loau, although the people of that district claim no descent from Loau.

It is difficult to assign with certainty the period of the rule of the Loau

chiefs. One informant said that Loau was probably preceded by the Tui Haa Tuunga, but I rather doubt this, as there was a Tui Haa Tuunga living at Nukunuku during the reign of the second Tui Kanokupolu, in the seventeenth century. The latest reference to Loau seems to connect him with the reign of the twenty-third Tui Tonga, in the fifteenth century. 622  
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There are several reasons for believing that Loau belongs to the period before the establishment of the office of Tui Kanokupolu: (a) the Haapai chiefs reputed to be the descendants of Loau have sunk to political insignificance, indicating that the Tui Kanokupolu adherents have eclipsed them; (b) the people who to-day claim descent from the Tui Haa Tuunga have ceased to be noble, a condition attributable to the same cause; (c) the territory ruled by the Tui Haa Tuunga seems to have greatly overlapped Loau's territory and extended as far west as Nukunuku, a feature which suggests, when coupled with the presence of a Tui Haa Tuunga in the Seventeenth Century, that Loau is the earlier of the two titles and that with the disappearance of the Loau title of Tui Haamea, there developed the Tui Haa Tuunga. 622  
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Traditionally, it was a Loau who allotted stewards to all Tonga as far as Uvea, and who allotted the first tasks (*fatongia*) among the different peoples—for example, assigning to the people of Tofua the bringing of volcanic stones. This traditional organization of Loau persisted until the coming of Europeans. King George I, in the Nineteenth Century, reallotted the land but with scant alteration in the old division. [178]  
[423]

The forefathers of the chiefs who now live scattered about in the Hihifo and Nukualofa districts are reputed to have lived in Haamea with Loau. The sites of the houses of the various chiefs in Haamea are still known, the mounds on which the houses stood being visible to-day. Some of the present day chiefs know the sites of their predecessors' houses in Haamea—for example, the site of the chief Lasike in Haamea is called Lakepa, as is also one of the villages belonging to him to-day. It seems likely that the chiefs now residing at Vaini and all of the way westward from there had forefathers who lived in Haamea with Loau. Maafu, the present chief of Vaini, owns Tokomololo, which is within the district of Haamea. Within Haamea was a large prairie called the *toafa* of Haamea which extended from Matakieua to Lakepa. The bush in this district is of recent growth.

The water hole in Haamea where Loau drank is still known. The site of the pond where the old legend says he sailed his vessel (26, pp. 139-152) is still to be seen but the place is dry.

Presumably after the disappearance of Loau, Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu, established himself in the Hihifo district of Tongatabu.

a chief to forgive, even if the offender was a commoner; other chiefs would laugh at him if he did not. But perchance the seducer were not forgiven he would be killed at the first opportunity. 684  
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Regarding theft, the opinion of all early voyagers is expressed by Wilson (66, p. 385). "In their propensity to theft they [the Polynesians in general] too much resembled each other, though the Friendly Islanders seemed the most daring." Unfortunately we know nothing of the extent of thievery among the Tongans themselves, but presumably it was rare. 685  
[17]

## LIFE CRISES

### BIRTH

When the time is nearly arrived for the delivery of a child, a messenger (usually the husband) is sent off for the midwife and should the first person the messenger meet be of the female sex, it is said that the child will be a girl, and vice versa. (Note from W. H. Murley.) 844

For the first ten days after childbirth the mother's diet was exclusively yams and hot coconut milk (*veifua*). At childbirth both mother and child were painted with turmeric (*enga*) and oil immediately. Collocott says (10, p. 418) that the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five days. Each day for two or three months the mother and child were given a sponge bath and repainted with turmeric, said to keep the mother and child warm and to induce the mother to produce milk quickly and plentifully. The use of turmeric is today yielding to fuller's earth. The following tale refers to the use of turmeric: 846  
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[844]  
[853]

Mahina was a hero who lived at Vaipoa in Vavau. Mahina had a god who guarded the water (a little bit of the sea) where Mahina bathed. A woman who had recently borne a child, and was therefore painted with turmeric, bathed in this water. The god disliked the smell of the turmeric in the water and shifted his quarters. He gulped the water up into his mouth and set off. Near Makave, Vavau, he met another god who made him laugh, and he spilt some of the water, which gave rise to the water called Finekata. Nearby he spilt some more out of his mouth which gave rise to the water called Veengangana (literally, spilt water). He went on to Tongatabu and established himself on the weather shore near Vaotuu, but another turmeric-painted matron disturbed him by bathing in his water, and so he packed up again and finally discharged the water at Tufumahina, Tongatabu. 846  
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That perhaps the newborn child was regarded as of supernatural origin is suggested by the word *louuluotua* (hair of the god), applied to the hair on the head of a child when born. 858

The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot. 846

with his seat at Fahefa, Tongatabu, is the recognized hereditary lord of a considerable part of Eua. The remainder is held by the Crown. Veehala's claim reveals again the ambitious efforts of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and the Tui Kanokupolu. In 1922, a portion of the island was given to the newly created noble Tupoutoa.

Veehala's claim rests upon the conquest, by his son Kaufana, of the southern half of the island north to Ohonua creek (Telea). Kaufana fought Manumua and other Eua chiefs. Previous to this the whole island belonged to the Tui Tonga. Kaufana conquered it before Tukuaho was sent there as governor in the latter part of the eighteenth century, probably by the Tui Kanokupolu Mulikihaamea. (See 16, p. 9.)

Faivalava, paternal grandfather of my informant Fakatene (who fought for the Tui Kanokupolu George I against the fortresses of Pea and Houma in Tongatabu), had a fortress named Loma. It was on level ground on the west side of Eua, not far from the present village of Kolomaile. Faivalava fought with the people of Ohonua, a village located at about the middle of the west side of the island. The war started through Faivalava's determination to maintain independence of the chiefs of Ohonua. He was defeated and left Loma and fortified the hill Teeveka. Takai of Pea, Tongatabu, fought there against Faivalava and his brother Foka, but without success. Takai returned to Ohonua and sent word to make peace. Foka came down to make peace and Faivalava stayed in his fortress to guard it. During the kava party to discuss peace Foka was murdered as he was drinking, but Takai returned to Tonga without further measures. The mention of Takai places this event early in the nineteenth century.

Heheu is an inland fortress strengthened naturally by a cliff. The commander of this fortress was Langilangi. He fought with the fortress Fangaata, whose commander was Tanakipusi. Fangaata was defeated. Langilangi was a son of the chief Hafoka. Fangaata was unwilling to pay Heheu the deference Langilangi required. Hence the war.

Tuutaki is a fortress inland from Ohonua. The chief there was Kaufana, son of Hafoka. He fought with his elder brother Talimalolo, whose fortress was Utumata in Ohonua. Talimalolo used to kill the people, and Kaufana stood forth as their champion and defeated Talimalolo. Kaufana sent Talimalolo to Tongatabu to his kinsman, the great chief Veehala in Fahefa.

Presumably these events took place after Kaufana had overcome Manumua as described earlier.

#### TUUTAKI, THE FAMOUS WARRIOR OF EUA

Tuutaki was born in the hamlet of Tuutaki, near Teemoa, low down on the east side of Eua Island. Whilst he was small, ceremonies used to be held before the Tui

Tonga at Utulifuka, which stands on the south bank of the Vaitaki, an artificial channel which runs down towards Haatua. Teeveka stands opposite Utulifuka, on the north side of the Vaitaki.

On the occasions when the people of Tuutaki went to the ceremonies (a single stick show or something of that sort), they used to tell Tuutaki to stay at home and get the food ready and to mind the place. This would be done year after year, Tuutaki regularly staying at home. But on one occasion when the boy was nearly grown, the people went off as usual to Utulifuka, telling him to stay at home and do his usual job. The boy put the food in the earth oven, then went and dug clay (*umea*), washed himself clean, put on his tapa garment, got a coconut club, and went to the festival (*katoanga*). The people were there in two sides, one side from Tuutaki and the other from Ohonua. Tuutaki went and sat with the Ohonua side. In the games (*fetaaki*) that followed, he showed great prowess, nobody on the Tuutaki side being able to overcome him, and the Tuutaki people were beaten. He was not recognized by his own folk, because he was decked out very handsomely, and they thought he was somebody who had arrived by sea from Tongatabu. Afterwards he went off home to Tuutaki and put dust on himself and made himself dirty so that he should not be recognized as the champion of the contest. Later the defeated Tuutaki contestants from Utulifuka were brought home on stretchers, badly damaged. Tuutaki asked what had caused all the trouble. They told him a new champion had smitten them all. They told him to get the food for them and as he was doing his work they noticed a spot on the top of his forehead which he had not dirtied, and recognized their opponent. They thereupon determined to kill him, but Tuutaki hearing of this induced a girl there to elope with him. They two went and fortified themselves in the mountain fortress of Matakitaui, towards the southeastern end of Eua. The girl was given one gate to hold and Tuutaki looked after the other gate. When the Tuutaki people attacked them, they could not defeat the two. Afterwards the two left Matakitaui and went to Utukape.

At this place holes were dug and pointed stakes stuck in the bottom. Tuutaki fought with and destroyed the people of his wife's brother, who lived towards the weather shore, looking towards the rising sun. (For the sequel, see 26, p. 101.) He made holes in the rock and covered them with *kape* leaves (hence the name Utukape). When his opponents trod on these places they fell into the holes and Tuutaki then slew them. After the fight Tuutaki stuck his two-pointed spear (*tamataua*) into the ground at the edge of the precipice and rested with his back against it. He called his wife to bring water, which she did. When he put his head back to drink from the coconut shell she shoved him over the cliff.

### CANNIBALISM

Very little new information was obtained concerning cannibalism in Tonga. The common belief among the Tongans of today is that their forefathers were not cannibals and that man-eating was exceptional, a view which fits well Mariner's remarks on the subject.

West (62, p. 270) says,

There can be no doubt as to the existence of cannibalism in these islands in former days. It never became so prevalent as it once was in New Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character, as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however, in times of war. [191]

The following are a few references to cannibalism which I recorded. Father Deguerry of the Catholic church at Mua, Tongatabu, referred to a



Lime made from coral was habitually used to cleanse the scalp and hair and to stiffen the hair so it would more readily remain erect. 302  
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### GENEALOGIES

In Tonga the genealogies of the great chiefs seem not to have been kept by the priests. These great genealogies were in the custody of the elderly woman of chiefly rank who memorized them and taught them to the young chiefs. With the adoption of writing, this custom of learning genealogies by heart has fallen into disuse. It is said that the women who were the repositories of the genealogies often discussed them among themselves and thus refreshed one another's memories. The genealogy which was supplied to me by the Queen of Tonga was set down from memory by the Tamaha Amelia with the aid of the chief named Shadrach Mumui. As soon as these two learned to write they decided to record the genealogies of the great chiefs and this record which was begun more than 75 years ago has been continued down to date. 814  
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From a practical standpoint, the Tongans no doubt exhibited as much interest in genealogical information as did the other Polynesians, but from a theoretical and mythological standpoint they seem not to have evolved any great genealogical fictions, such as characterized the Hawaiians and other eastern Polynesians. In Tongan the ancestor is called *tefito* (literally, root, origin). King George I, in speaking of the present Prince Consort Tungi on the occasion of his birth, remarked, "This child is a tangled myrtle (*maile fihī*)," meaning that he combined many lines of descent, notably from the Tui Tonga on his mother's side, and from the Tui Kanokupolu on his fathers. [171]  
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### PERSONAL NAMES

Hundreds of Tongan personal names were recorded. The meanings of a number of these have been worked out by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker and are published below. No doubt many of these personal names are nicknames, others are true names given in infancy, and a few are titles. As a rule, the same name is applied indiscriminately to males and females. The Tongans seem to give individual names, not only to persons and places, but also to animals and ships. Their application of names to ships seems to be very similar to the European. McKern (43) publishes a list of ancient ship names. 551  
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Dogs kept as pets were named, though I have no examples to offer. The great mythical dog of Moturiki, Fiji, which killed Maui, was named Fulupuputa, which means "stout hair." An ancient tortoise, which is the property of Queen Charlotte, is known by the name of Tui Malila. (Malila is a place in Lapaha, Tongatabu. It is said that the Tui Tonga was anciently [231]  
[773]  
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## [Ata Island]

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bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant island, called Pylstaarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party of the inhabitants hastily manned a *namatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstaarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel.

What follows concerning Ata has been derived entirely from modern Tongans, mostly former inhabitants of that island now residing in Eua Island, and also from Leha, the carpenter for Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's descendant.

The Tongan name is really 'Ata, which means reflection. Ata is the title of a great chief, which means dawn. Another name is Atā, which is the name of the island close to Tongatabu. This name means more room, expanding, and evidently has reference to the mythical origin of this island, which is believed to have arisen spontaneously from the depths of the sea and to be the first island of the Tongan archipelago to appear above the face of the waters.

Ata is a very steep, volcanic island. The anchorage is on the west side of the island and from the beach a trail leads upward. There was but one town on Ata and it was called Kolomaille, literally Myrtle town. It was divided into three sections: Hihifo (the west end), Auloto, and Pea. Pea was apparently named after the village of Pea in Tongatabu. The reason for so believing will appear later when I recount the story of the visit from the god of Pea to Ata. The people of Ata did not live on their farms as did Tongans elsewhere but lived together in the town. Each of these three divisions of the town had a district of its own for farming. Whether or not each district was divided into individual family holdings could not be determined.

The traditional discovery of Ata is attributed to the diviner Hama (16, p. 52). Apparently some time later the island was visited by a man named Motuapuaka, who eloped to Ata with the Tui Tonga's daughter named Tapuosi. Motuapuaka is said to have earlier sighted the island while fishing for bonito, so when he eloped with Tapuosi he headed for the island as a likely place of refuge from the wrath of the Tui Tonga. According to two informants from Ata there were already aborigines upon the island when Motuapuaka and Tapuosi arrived. The details of their adventures upon arriving at Ata were related by Tupouata, a descendant of the principal chief of the island, the Tui Ata. According to one informant there



their origin, to be haunted by "devils," and the people of the neighborhood 776  
avoid passing the mound in the dark. 778

Besides manifesting themselves through priests or priestesses, the gods 776  
appeared also in animal form. The animal was called the *vaka* (boat) of the 825  
god, and the priest the *taula otua* (anchor of the god). Needless to say, it 784  
was forbidden for the worshipper of a god to eat the animal in which the god  
might become incarnate. The journal of missionary Watkin (61) mentions [753]  
a person "who was then very ill, because he had eaten the god from which  
the tribe had sprung and to which they paid divine honors, the *feke* or  
catfish."

All of the gods are today called *tevolo*, which is the Tongan rendering of 776  
English "devil." Some informants, however, insist that *tevolo* is an old 196  
Tongan word, and the late chief Maatu of Niuatoputapu gave an interest-  
ing etymology which would appear to be a rationalization. He analyzed [793]  
*tevolo* as *te* "to bring out," and *volo* "salivary glands," referring to the  
frothing at the mouth on the part of the inspired priest. The proper ancient 776  
term for a god seems to be *otua*. The term *fili* was given by one informant as 192  
a synonym, as was also *puloo*. The generic term *faahikehe* denotes gods,  
spirits, ghosts, and apparently priests. It means literally "different side," or  
"different kind," referring to the different endowment of the *faahikehe* as  
compared with normal human beings. Another term for gods was *taulamua*,  
based on the term *taula* (anchor) which occurs in the word for priest.

The widespread Polynesian gods, Tu, Tane, and Lono, appear to have 776  
been unknown in Tonga. Tangaloa was well known, and existed in several [771]  
forms, always, however, as a sky god rather than a sea god. There appear [778]  
to have been no temples or priests dedicated to Tangaloa. His rôle in [793]  
the creation of solid land and man is well exemplified in Tongan mythology. 773

Although the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha were believed to approach the [643]  
gods in essence, nevertheless they were human, from the Tongan's standpoint, [782]  
inasmuch as they prayed to the gods when ill and their relatives sacrificed  
their little fingers for them. However, even Tangaloa the Lord of Heaven  
seems to be conceived of as dying, for in one myth the words are put into  
his mouth: "The funeral of the Tui Tonga shall be as my own funeral"  
(26, p. 42). On the other hand, the leper Fakailoatonga, who ordered him-  
self buried alive, was deified and worshipped. According to Farmer (23, [641]  
p. 129), the god of the Tui Tonga was Hikuleo, for whom the Tui Tonga [762]  
acted as priest or intermediary, the offerings of the great Inasi ceremony [793]  
being destined for Hikuleo. I could obtain no evidence that the deceased [643]  
Tui Tonga were worshiped, although offerings were placed at their tombs [769]  
(p. 76).

Although I have succeeded in adding a few unrecorded gods to the Ton-  
gan pantheon, there are certain deities, notably the goddess Kallafootonga

(Calla Filatonga) and the god Fatafehi (66, pp. 276, 277; 19, vol. 1, p. 403), 776 whom I could not identify. All informants interviewed denied the existence of any deity with the name Fatafehi.

## TANGALOA

Tangaloa, the sky god, is regarded in Vavau as being the deity who hauled [773] up the Vavau group, his fish hook catching in what is now the island of Hunga (41, vol. 1, p. 271). The attribution by the Vavau people of this [784] great act to Tangaloa instead of Maui is perhaps due to some special develop- [771] ment of Tangaloa worship in Vavau. Tangaloa Tufunga, though said not to [335] be a god of Niuatoputapu, is the patron of carpenters elsewhere in Tonga.

## MAUI

The Maui were characterized by one informant not as gods but as men, and they are believed to appear sometimes as men. In other words, they are really culture heroes who correspond better to the designation of demigod than of god. According to Maatu of Niuatoputapu, Maui is not credited with having benefited that island. He is, however, reputed to have drawn up successively the islands of Ata, north of Tongatabu, and Tongatabu with all of its associated islands, then Lofanga and the other Haapai islands, and lastly the Vavau group (38, p. 113). There are several places in the Tongatabu and Vavau groups which have tales connecting them with the exploits of the Maui. At Toloa, Tongatabu, certain breakers are said to represent 776 the great fowl (*moa*) wounded by Maui, who hurled stones at it, as it flew 773 from Eua. Thus, when a wave approaches the shore and breaks only in part 823 it is said to be the fowl approaching. The part of the wave which is breaking is called the good wing of the bird. The part which does not break is said to be the broken wing of the bird, which has been struck by Maui's missile.

There is a definite localization of tales about Maui in Eua Island and in the Vavau group, seemingly drawing upon two separate sets of tales, which in modern times have been more or less amalgamated. In Eua, Maui Kisikisi and his father and mother are said to have lived at Haatua. At that place there is a large stretch of ground with a deep depression which is called the Matalanga-a-Maui. The tale recounts that the father chided Kisikisi for not working, whereupon the boy in anger seized his great digging stick, plunged it into the ground and worked it back and forth, shaking Eua terribly. His father ordered him to desist lest he upset the island, and Kisikisi expostulated at the unequal treatment he received, one time hearing complaint because he did no work, and then hearing further complaint as soon as he started to make a garden. In exasperation he cast his digging stick over the cliff Le-

lenga, so that it fell into the sea. The place where it slid over the edge of the cliff is marked by a deep groove, through which soil and stone have slid into the sea. (See also 16, p. 8.)

At Matalanga in Utungake, Vavau, are a series of perpendicular holes or caves in the coral bedrock, which are said likewise to have been made by Maui thrusting in his digging stick. In the sea close by are two very smooth rocks, called Niumano and Moso, the larger being not more than 30 feet in diameter, said to be transformed sons of Maui. A plant *tepilo a Maui* (wind of Maui), common in Tonga, is associated with Maui. The plant, when in flower, smells like human excrement and is said to have acquired this characteristic because a branch of it was used by Maui as a wiper.

On the part of the weather shore of Uiha called Likutapu (so called because a Tui Tonga is said to be buried there, in a small langi) is a hollow stone called the kava bowl of Maui.

#### HIKULEO

Hikuleo, the great deity of Pulotu, whom Farmer (23, p. 132) connects with the Tui Tonga, is believed to manifest himself often at the present time. Thus, if fishermen return without a catch, it is a sign that Hikuleo has been at work with his great net, and that therefore no fish will enter the nets of mortals. Then the fishermen flee in fear. The particular locality where this is believed to occur is the inland waters of such lagoons as that of Tongatabu. Mamea, the Mother Superior of the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, contributed this information about Hikuleo's fishing. She stated, also, that there died about 1905 an old woman of Maufanga who claimed that she was frequently transported to the smaller outer islands by a god and then subsequently brought back. I do not know if this god was Hikuleo.

I was unable to settle the matter of the sex of Hikuleo in her (or his) role of deity of Pulotu, some informants made the deity masculine, others feminine (26). It is not improbable that, like Fehuluni, Hikuleo was bisexual. Caillot (7, p. 243) regards Hikuleo as a male deity, as do most other writers.

At the site of the present town of Haano, Haapai, there once stood a temple of Hikuleo. The temple was called Falemee. It was located on a tract called Fanakava. The priest of the goddess was named Manakoto, and her sacred animal was the sea snake (*tukuhali*). This temple was a famous place of refuge. If a person became sick, his relatives went to Manakoto and cut off little finger joints to make him well. Bodies of executed persons were taken to Manakoto. If Manakoto were angry a human sacrifice might be made to him, the sight of which made him happy. The following anecdote is told:

To Fehuluni are attributed strong sexual desires. If a handsome man 776 attracted the deity he took female form and slept with him, after which the 833 man died. A similar fate overtook any beautiful woman in whom the deity 763 became interested.

The three following tales relate encounters with Fehuluni in female form: 776

773

There were two men who went on horseback to Ahau, Nomuka Island. When they reached the big *ouzu* tree at Ahau, it was almost sundown. They saw a woman sitting beside the road. They stopped the horses and made them walk slowly. This woman told them to dismount, so they did. They came up to the woman and she asked for tobacco. They had none. She told them they had better go to the village and get her some. They went and got tobacco and kava and returned to her. Just before they got back to her they looked ahead and saw her without a head. She had her head in her hands and was combing the hair. They stood for a while and watched in fear. They beat their horses and flew back to the village. If Fehuluni had known they were so close she would not have frightened them like that. They discovered who she was in time. In two or three days they sickened and died.

One day a man named David Kaufusi went to Ahau, to do some work there. After doing his work he went around to the west side of the island. Suddenly he saw Fehuluni and several other women "devils" sitting on the road, juggling oranges. They looked like Tongan women. He was surprised to see the "devils" and was right amongst them before he realized it. Fehuluni was the prettiest of all. David came to a standstill and she told her woman to bring him to her and they would eat him. "We are very hungry," she said. They laid him down and ate out all his flesh, leaving only skin and bones. After the feast they blew him up with air and left him lying there. On the same day, a priestess at Ahau sent word to the people to go around to the west side of the island and bring David, for her god had informed her of what had happened to him. So the people went and found him lying there. When they went to lift him up, his skin broke. He was dead. So they brought the skin and bones and buried them in the graveyard named Fakahakonoa at Ahau. The people knew what had happened to David, because the priestess told them.

Tanisisi was the "slayer" of Fehuluni about 1890. This was when there were plenty of ducks in the lake of Nomuka. Tanisisi went out one morning to shoot ducks. He shot many. He had the bush tract Haafota, at the southeast point of the island. He shot the ducks on the lagoon and then went back to his tract. He dropped the ducks and went out to the headland, to see if there were any ducks standing on the rocks at the point of the island to warm themselves at sunrise. On the way to the point he saw a woman standing beside a toa tree. He stood for a while, but could not determine who she was, though he knew all in the town. She wore only a short tapa garment, not reaching to her knees, and no other clothes. Her hair hung to her heels. Tanisisi could not identify her, for no Nomuka woman had such long hair. She was looking away from him, facing the sea. It came to Tanisisi's mind that it was Fehuluni. He thought this when he first saw her. So he loaded his gun and fired at her. When he fired she went to nothing. He could find no body. When he came to the spot he found a dead skink (*pili*) with a wound right through its body. Fehuluni has since been seen and hence was not actually killed.

When questioned about sexual connection with Fehuluni, the informant 833 said it never really occurs, because the deity is only a shadow which cannot be touched. People upon whom Fehuluni looks are said to go out of their 158 minds. That Tanisisi did not go crazy is accounted for by the fact that Fehuluni did not look at him. Fehuluni usually is to be seen near the big tree 776

at Ahau where *fono* were held, or near the southeastern point of the island. 776  
Taleheu, a tract on the west side of the island, was Fehuluni's home, where  
she lived in a Tahitian chestnut tree.

In the Vavau group, Fehuluni's home is the island of Aa. She has  
living there with her the women who are said to continually juggle the eyes  
of human beings, instead of oranges. Certain of the attributes which she has  
in Nomuka pertain to her also in Vavau, namely, the ability to become either  
a man or a woman, and the ability to remove her head from her shoulders  
when combing her hair. The Vavau informant said that those human beings  
who fell victims to the enticements of this deity died soon and that the deity  
wished it so, that she might have them with her in Pulotu, the unseen world.

What is probably but another manifestation of Fehuluni is a deity named  
Malimeihevao, the bisexual god of Uoleva Island, Haapai. The following  
anecdote concerns him:

A god named Malimeihevao, living in the pigeon mound called Siamaka in the 776  
island of Uoleva had the power of assuming either male or female sex at will and  
visiting a human being of the opposite sex, whom he liked. The deity possessed the 773  
mind (*loto*) of the human victim, so that for some time after the divine visitation 787  
the victim was irrational. 828

Two men, Kaamoto and Pana, from the neighboring island of Lifuka, went hunt-  
ing with a shotgun on Uoleva. They had shot a number of flying foxes and large  
fruit pigeons (*lupe*), when Malimeihevao possessed herself of Kaamoto's mind. As  
soon as she did so, Kaamoto looked like a fool and became completely irrational.  
Pana was carrying the game that had been bagged. He urged Kaamoto to return with  
him to Lifuka, but Kaamoto was deaf to entreaty and proceeded to walk towards  
the center of Uoleva with his gun under his arm. Kaamoto had been completely robbed  
of his sense of direction and for two days and two nights he wandered aimlessly.  
The faithful Pana, realizing that he had lost his mind, followed him, but at last de-  
spaired of his becoming rational.

Now Pana bethought himself of a goddess named Puakamopele, who lived in the  
neighboring island of Tatafa. Puakamopele was a deity with a woman's body and a  
pig's head. She was the ruler of all the gods of Haapai. Pana now left Kaamoto  
in Uoleva and went over to Tatafa to seek the aid of the goddess. He besought her  
to restore his companion to his right mind and to cause him (Kaamoto) to come to  
him. In a little while Pana saw a flame appear near the goddess, which was a sign  
that the prayer was to be answered. Shortly after Kaamoto came out on the beach  
of Uoleva opposite Tatafa and fell down quite exhausted, but rational. He was  
trembling from head to foot and spitting blood. Pana asked him how he became  
foolish and Kaamoto told him that a woman had approached him and stolen his senses.  
Then the two returned to Lifuka. Their pigeons and bats, however, had become  
rotten and were left behind. The two men told the people in Lifuka of their adventures.

As an obscure sequel to this, the priest Ngaohaa, who officiated for both Puaka-776  
mopele and Malimeihevao at their joint house in Holopeka, Lifuka, went to Tatafa 773  
and requested Puakamopele to kill all of the gods of Haapai. This the obliging goddess 793  
did with the exception of Malimeihevao, who entered the owl (*lulu*).

When the priest Ngaohaa wished to consult Malimeihevao in Uoleva, he 776  
went right up to the Siamaka or stone mound in which the deity lived, and in 793  
which Puakamopele also dwelt at times. This mound is said to be of recent 349



After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaaahau. After the god had restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Ngininginiolanga to Taufaaahau. [553]

Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, together with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaooota, the priest's attendant who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coconut shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed slightly, eyes staring. [415]

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father. [428]

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga. [793]

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moungatapu and the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave. [776]

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god Taufaitahi: [825]

A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day to attend games of playing in the surf (*faniŋa*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brought as offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain. [773]



Another tale refers to the temple of Taufaitahi in Tatakamotonga, Tonga-  
 tabu, serving as a sanctuary (*fale hufanga*) for the chief Niukapu who was  
 being pursued by Taufaaahu (later King George I):

Taufaaahu had pursued the chief Niukapu with the intent of killing him. The fugitive had gone to various houses of sanctuary, of which there were three. Two of these leaked badly (that is, fugitives were not safe in them), but Kautae's was tight (safe). Kautae's was the one to which the hunted Niukapu now bent his steps. Before his arrival, however, Taufaaahu issued instructions that Niukapu be carefully watched, but not attacked. The watch was set. Niukapu's friends, however, advised him to carry several spears into the sacred enclosure, so that the watchers would suppose that he was a person belonging to the place. The ruse worked and Niukapu approached the enclosure without molestation and passed through the gateway.

When it was seen that Niukapu had safely entered the sanctuary, Taufaaahu gave orders that someone's finger be amputated. This was done and the finger presented to the god as an offering. Kautae's finger was then cut off as a counter-offering and sent to Taufaaahu, who then slaughtered a man and had the body together with goods (*koloa*) carried to Kautae, the priest of the god. At this Kautae wept, because it meant that Niukapu must be surrendered. However, Kautae's daughter interposed, saying: "Weep not. Slay me instead, so that Niukapu will be free." She was immediately killed and carried to Taufaaahu. That is how Niukapu escaped. It was said that in slaying the girl Kautae had made virtually an offering of his own life (*manava*). It was said of priests that it was better for them to die than that anyone seeking sanctuary should perish. Niukapu in gratitude told Kautae to take his pick of his lands, but Kautae merely asked for Niukapu's kava and got it. When Niukapu's kava is called, Kautae can now claim it and seems often to do so.

Kautae, the present priest of the god, bore the name of Teukitahi before his appointment by the Prince Consort Tungi. He belongs to the Haa Mohefo or lineage of the Tui Kanokupolu. The present Kautae is a Roman Catholic and, of course, does not exercise his priestly functions as did his predecessors. He was more than eighty years of age when I interviewed him. He emphasized that Taufaitahi was not a man who had died and had been deified like Fakailoatonga, but that Taufaitahi was a spirit from Pulotu; that the god himself is without form and without appearance, purely a spirit (*fachikehe*), who travels from Pulotu to Tonga in a spirit boat (*vakalaoa*), which is tied at Vakafaioho, an inlet at Nahafu, near Mua. Then, he said, the god enters his priest, but never appears ashore in any form other than Kautae; at sea the god may enter a *tenifa* (shark).

This conception of Taufaitahi seems to fit the general Tongan idea as to the nature of the gods, in considering them intangible, invisible, formless spirits. Taufaitahi differs from certain other shark gods in being regarded as never having been a human being. Tui Tofua, another deity, incarnate also in the *tenifa*, or man-eating shark, is said once to have been a living person who was transformed into a shark. In the same way, Seketoa, the fish god of Niuatoputapu, was also once a human being who proceeded to drown himself and became a fish.

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that the two deities may be connected or perhaps identical. This opinion was expressed by the informant Rose Fatafehi, the son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga.

A purely local deity is a cannibal god reputed to have dwelt in a cave called Anapoutaha, near Maufanga, Tongatabu.

DEITIES OF EUA ISLAND

The following scraps of information which were received about the deities of Eua Island supplement the information Collocott has already presented:

Although there is a certain amount of localization of gods in Eua, there seem not to have been gods for each district. The god or goddess Tafakula seems to have been generally worshipped and was appealed to for favorable seasons for the crops. The origin of this deity is set forth by Collocott (9, pp. 236, 237). He regards the deity as a female. A modern Eua informant knew of no sacred animal for Tafakula; she manifested herself only through a priest. Reference is often made to Tafakula in the stories concerning the origin of geographic features (26, p. 88). Connected with this deity was a great axe-shaped rock in Eua called Kitekihaamo (visible to Samoa). The Samoans are said to have been displeased at the visibility of this rock from their country so they came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which it was easy for people to take pieces from which to make axes. The base of this rock is said to be still visible on the weather shore of Eua and is called Toa Makahunu. It is said to vary in color, being in part white, yellow, red, and black. Tafakula was also known in Haapai and Vavau.

Another deity of Eua Island was Lefelegevalu whose house stood on a mound beside the road from Tufuvai to Haatua. The mound is said to be the goddess transformed. She was a *trupoou* (virgin). Two lovers tried to approach her during the night but were unable to reach her before daybreak, and were transformed into two smaller mounds which are to be seen to-day on the ridge back of the mound Lefelegevalu. The two lovers were called Ponahiva and Fasikiato, names which are applied to the two mounds. It is said that dawn broke when the two had reached the tract called Fakaahuahu (near the present race course).

Ko Ponahiva mo Fasikiato,  
Lefelegevalu tu'u mei lalo.  
Ko Kopoka api kou kumia ngako,

Tapuhia moe luo ki toke,

Kokafa e api kai tole.

Here are Ponahiva and Fasikiato,  
Lefelegevalu stands below.  
Kopoka is the tract where is eaten the fat  
rat,  
Tapuhia is the place of the hole of the  
eel,  
Kokafa is the tract where vagina is eaten.

The names Lefelegevalu and Ponahiva are said to refer respectively to eight female organs and nine male organs.

## [Lifuka Island]

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South of the mound Lefeleva is a stone called Anganganofae, which is said to be natural in formation but which looks like a fish having the head of a stingray (*fai*) and the tail of a shark (*anga*). 776  
773  
823

## DEITIES OF LIFUKA ISLAND

Aloalo seems to have been an important Haapai god with his sanctuary on the tract Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka Island. He seems to have been especially a weather god and was also consulted concerning future events. 776  
778  
[821]

The temple of the god was a Tongan house, one end of which was screened off with cane (*kako*). The god was represented by a whale's tooth (*lei*) which was kept in this compartment covered by a fine mat (*kic*). "He stayed alone like a king and no one was with him." People who came to consult the god waited outside the house. They brought with them presents of food which they left in the anteroom of the house just within the entrance, but away from the compartment where the god dwelt. Food that was left by departing visitors would be found to have entirely disappeared upon their return and this was true even if the food was a hundred pound pig. 776  
782

If people planned to voyage from Haapai to Tongatabu they brought food to Aloalo and inquired as to the most propitious time for setting sail. The god would tell them whether they should leave immediately or later, in order to enjoy good weather all of the way. He might also instruct the voyagers as to the most propitious time to return from Tongatabu. If they failed to regard his instructions they were likely to meet with mishap. 776  
787  
484  
[782]

The "boat" of the god was the white tern (*tala*). When people went shark fishing they followed the god's bird so they might be led to a good fishing ground. The bird of the god seems to have been a captive white tern with a string tied to its foot. Today the white tern is still used as an indicator of good fishing grounds. 776  
825  
226

The god manifested himself by causing the whale's tooth to move or shake. However, prior to the shaking, a yellow butterfly, appearing at the front door of the god's house, indicated that the deity would shortly appear in the whale's tooth. The appearance of the yellow butterfly was to inform the priest of the god's impending visit. The people in general were apprised and would come to pray on such an occasion, particularly those people who had illness. It is said that the butterfly was not the god himself, but merely the messenger of the god. 776  
825  
[782]

Aloalo not only predicted the weather but he could also govern it, for example, being able to stop excessive rains when prayed to do so by the people. Aloalo's priest was called Vavanga (literally "to know everything"). He served as intermediary between the supplicants and the god. After the appearance of the yellow butterfly and the movements of the whale's tooth the god entered the priest, who would be convulsed by trembling. While in this state he delivered the message of the god to the people. The priest when inspired was seated, not reclining. The district in which the tract of the god was located was called Ahau, a name which refers to the ruling chief. 776  
821  
[793]  
[787]

The daughter's son of the last priest Vavanga was living at the site in 1920, and my informant was himself the son's son of Vavanga. There was another sanctuary of Aloalo near the northern end of Lifuka Island at the village of Holopeka. 793  
115  
778

Aloalo went the same way as the rest of the Haapai gods when Taufaaahu set out to destroy them. The priest of the god fled, however, so that he escaped the fate of other priests and priestesses who were put to death by Taufaaahu. 797  
798  
793

Tapueluelu knew but little. He said that the people of the lineage Haa<sup>776</sup> Ngata Tupu worshipped Fakailoatonga. He said that commoners of the <sup>565</sup> lineage, as well as a great chief like Ulukalala, paid their addresses to this [613] deity. The chief Luani worshipped Tui Haa Fakafanua and the chief Tui Lakepa presumably worshipped Taliai Tupou.

Alomafao was a Samoan god whose favorite diet consisted of the inhabi-<sup>776</sup> tants of Tonga. In a great battle with the son of a Tui Haa Takalaua this <sup>648</sup> god was killed and in turn was eaten by the chief and his followers. The <sup>266</sup> oven where he was cooked may still be seen near Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau.

#### DEITIES OF NIUATOPUTAPU

The most famous deity in Niuatoputapu is Seketoa (26, p. 83), a god <sup>776</sup> who manifests himself in the form of a fish, and according to many ac- <sup>825</sup> counts is still seen to-day. It is said that Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu can call Seketoa when at sea (16, p. 56). Not only do natives report the appearance of the fish who is supposed to embody the god, but many white people have seen the creature. The two following accounts were given by Catholic priests. The first was written in September, 1917, by Father J. B. Mace, S. M.

At the time of my last visit to Niuatoputapu, in June last, it was my good fortune, an exceedingly rare one, to get acquainted with a Tongan divinity, a fish called Seketoa. Here is its origin.

Seketoa was a chief of Niuatoputapu, who was to become Maatu, that is king. <sup>776</sup> On that account one of the influential families, Haaila, had conceived a mortal hatred <sup>825</sup> of him, and resolved that he should not be king. Now it happened that a member of <sup>773</sup> that family, Tupa by name, went out to gather shellfish, which he allowed to rot. He <sup>164</sup> did that because the younger brother of Seketoa suffered from elephantiasis and another contagious skin disease.

One evening he rubbed his legs with the decayed shellfish and at night went on <sup>757</sup> to the hut where Seketoa slept. Seketoa awoke and thought it was his brother who had entered. So he said, "Why have you come to me? Do you not know that your disease is contagious? And would you communicate it to me?" But the other, who was armed with an iron-wood lance, made no answer, but pierced Seketoa through and fled. Seketoa rose, but was unable to extract the wood which had broken close to the wound. He therefore went to the neighboring hut where the women were and asked them to bring out a light. He was then able to draw out the end of the lance.

Then, having called his brother to him, the very one who was infected with the contagious disease, he said to him: "My will is that you become king of this island; as for me, I shall go to the sea to succor my brothers in distress." And at his bidding he was wrapped over in coconut leaves and cast into the sea.

The brother of Seketoa became Maatu, that is king of Niuatoputapu. He communicated his <sup>53</sup> disease to his subjects. And since that time a large proportion of the people are <sup>164</sup> afflicted with elephantiasis and other skin diseases.

After being cast into the sea, Seketoa transformed himself into a fish whose color and dimensions it is impossible to determine. His peculiarity lies precisely in this, that he assumes an infinite variety of sizes and colors, sometimes suddenly. The mark by which he is recognized is the scar he bears in his side. Sometimes, though seldom,

he appears as a small fish, no longer than a man's hand. At other times he is a real giant, not less than 5 or 6 meters long. 776

Truly strange feats are told of him. Here is one which is of special interest to us, as it occurred some fifteen years ago. 825 773

One of my fellow-priests, the Rev. Father Berger, who died in 1905, was then residing at Niua Toputapu. He had spent several weeks in the island of Tafahi, to carve out a large *lali*, a wooden bell, such as are used in the various stations of our Vicariate Apostolic to call the faithful to church. The large piece of timber, enormous in size, had been placed upon a raft made of bamboo, which was towed by two native rowboats.

When hardly a hundred meters from the shore our Catholics noticed that it would be impossible for them to reach their destination, the weight of the cargo was forcing the raft under water.

On account of certain remnants of superstition, of which unhappily our Catholics have not entirely rid themselves, such an accident would have augured terrible evils whose consequences might prove disastrous to religion. In their minds a church without a bell is a body without a soul, and therefore the loss of their bell in the depths of the sea meant that defections were to be feared. But just when they expected the *lali* to sink, Seketoo appeared. He slipped beneath the raft, and raised and carried it to the shore of Niua about four miles away.

I have heard twenty times the narration of the fact from eye-witnesses. My fellow-missionaries know it, and the Rev. Father Berger, it is said, has left a relation of it in writing.

That famous *lali* still exists. It is at the station of Vaipoa. It is the largest known. The natives call it "*Seketoo's lali*."

I might relate many another interesting detail, but come directly to what concerns me. 776 825

We were about fifteen people aboard an old boat. We had just left Niua Toputapu and were near the island of Tafahi, when a native cried out, "*Seketoo! Seketoo!*" In a second all were afoot. I had often heard of the famous sea-god, but never yet had had the good fortune of seeing him. This time it was not difficult to examine him at leisure, for he almost touched the boat for a whole hour without once disappearing. He was a splendid fish, measuring, so far as I could judge, fully 5 meters. He followed us as a dog follows his master. What struck me most was his change of colors, occurring suddenly and passing from dark gray to sky blue—then he was truly admirable. His head was rather large, but his mouth was very small.

As soon as we sighted him, one of the natives hurriedly cast him a kava root, which fell scarcely a half meter from him; and without further delay other young men began busily to beat a second root to prepare a beverage in his honor. As soon as the kava was ready, it was duly distributed. Naturally, the first cup was for the "*divinity*" that swam in our wake. Its contents were poured into the sea. For a whole hour the pagans that happened to be aboard never ceased to address him compliments, and wishes, and prayers. It was a sight at once laughable and painful, sad and touching, so great were their fervor and conviction.

At last, after having raised himself erect upon his tail almost to the surface, the god-fish left our ship and disappeared.

In reality, what is Seketoo, that fish which appears so seldom, always unaccompanied, which is unafraid of man, whose color varies so, and which is so helpful to man? How is it that it was never noticed in the groups of Central Oceania other than Niua? Fabulists and naturalists offer an explanation, that, for instance, of Lafontaine of old in the fable of "*The Monkey and the Dolphin*." Seketoo, at least just as he appeared to me, might be a dolphin. His change of colors, which is so striking, is not an unheard of thing—the sea-spider, they say, enjoys the same peculiarity. That explanation, however, I accept only with reservations, in the case that concerns us; since it explains but partly the role of Seketoo. Here is another.



the hands of the god. Moreover, standing in each god's house there were, 778  
in addition to the mats, wooden war weapons and other objects which were 788  
painted yellow with turmeric. Some of the wooden objects standing in the  
god's house seem to have been more or less rudely shaped into human form,  
although there is no evidence that they were regarded as idols.

Offerings of finger joints or human lives, or of food were presented to 782  
the god whose aid was sought through the priest. Prayer, at fire lighting 781  
in the evening, is reported for Samoa, but appears not to have been practiced  
in Tonga. Kava, however, was poured out on the ground as an offering 786  
to the gods in heathen times. Before engaging in warfare, boxing, wrestling, 786  
or other athletic contest, each contestant would throw a bit of kava, called 786  
*mesini*, over the fence into the enclosure of his patron deity, to procure the  
protection of the god.

Other individuals, as well as priests, seem to have been the repositories 538  
of stories concerning the gods. These stories are called *talatupua*, the name 773  
apparently containing the stem *tupui* which refers to the original  
gods as distinguished from disembodied human spirits. The word *talanoa*  
refers to old-time stories, but not necessarily those that deal with the gods.  
The enclosure in which a priest's or god's house stood was often referred to 778  
grandiloquently as *lotolahi* (inside the great fence). The houses of the 346  
priests and gods seem to have borne especial names, as well as the tracts  
upon which they stood. For example, *Falemanaia* applied to a god-house  
at Makave, Vavau Island. The site where the *Falemanaia* stood is now  
marked by an irregular mound about 4 feet high. Other temple names are  
mentioned above.

Certain of the priests seem not only to have exercised the usual priestly 793  
functions of medium for the god, but seem also to have been at times the 764  
caretakers of adjacent cemeteries. Thus, the priest who resides at Fiehua,  
the shrine of the god *Finautauiku*, was also the caretaker of the cemetery  
*Loamanu*, wherein the Tui Haa *Takalaua* were buried, and where small  
carved wooden figures are said to have been set up at graves. It was sug-  
gested by the priest *Kautae* that they were purely decorative, which would  
bear out Cook's observation of the lack of respect bestowed upon them  
(66, p. xlix).

Each lineage, represented by its chief or head, had a god who was wor- 776  
shipped by all members of the lineage. Children worshipped the god of 613  
their father and commonly the wife adopted the worship of the god of her 593  
husband. Sometimes, when a god was believed to be incarnate in some bird, 825  
a bird of that particular species would be kept in the house of the chief of  
the lineage.

Gods seem not to have been connected with settlements or districts, but  
to have been connected only with groups of people; that is, with patri-



and rejoicing were started on the mound. This went on whilst the approaching pigeons grew successively as large mosquitoes and as flies; but when they appeared as large as the *mini* bird (*Aplonis tabuensis*) the rejoicings were stopped. The chief man of the hunt took no part in these rejoicings, but sat quietly where the kava was served, and was said to be paying his reverence to the mound by his silence and non-participation.

A sport in which people formed a long line through the bush and then moved forward straight ahead, each man shooting with bow and arrow whatever came in his way was called *lauete*. Everything that was shot counted, according to one account even butterflies or flies. When they had come to the spot set as the end of the beat, they counted trophies and the man who had most won. The place where the sport was to be held was announced beforehand, and if a human being strayed into the place he was liable to become a trophy for one of the hunters.

### MYTHOLOGY

The Tongan mythology, in general, resembles Samoan mythology rather than that of New Zealand and eastern Polynesia. Propinquity of the two groups would lead one to expect this. It deals both with the great gods and the lesser gods. No migration tales enter into Tongan tradition, for people are regarded as created in Tonga, not elsewhere.

The subject of Tongan mythology has been quite fully covered by Collocott and me (26), and these works give references to myths published by other writers.

The following myth was recorded by Mr. W. H. Murley:

On the eminence called Toloke [in Haano Island] in the very old days stood a god house and the keepers (there was no priest, as was often the case) were two old men, one blind, the other deaf. Now, Kui was the name of the blind one and Tuli that of the deaf. As the house was in need of a new pillar, they set to work to chop down a big toa tree. After infinite labor (they had only stone axes) the tree came crashing to earth. Whilst they were felling it a man named Mafi, who lived on the other side of the island, heard the blows of the axe and as his house, too, was needing repairs, he thought that it would be a saving of labor if he could by some means steal it. Mafi was a giant amongst men, although men were giants in those days.

Creeping softly up to where the immense tree was lying he carefully hid himself, patiently watching his chance. Presently it came. He heard Tuli tell Kui to stand by the tree, lest it should be stolen as he was going to get another axe. When Tuli had gone Mafi stepped out of his place of concealment and, imitating Tuli's voice, said: "Kui, feel about to know whether the tree has not been stolen."

Kui replied, as he put his hand on it, "No, the tree is still here."

Then Mafi stepping gently seized hold of the butt of another log about the same size and, pulling out the freshly chopped tree, substituted for it the log. Then he again said, "Kui, is the tree still there?"

"Yes," answered the blind man. Then Mafi commenced to drag his tree to the sea, and he had only got to the edge of the reef when Tuli came in sight and promptly gave chase. Mafi then grabbed the small end of the tree and started to run along the reef, the tide being out, dragging his stolen property after. Round the point of the island he went with Tuli after him, but Mafi got to his house first. Although the tree has long since rotted, Mafi's house is scattered to the four winds, and not a sign remains of the god house, yet the track where the tree was dragged is plainly visible in the reef, like a long trench from Toloke to the other side of the island.

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feet,) made of reed, headed with iron-wood: 224  
 they are not feathered, and their great length 411  
 is requisite, that they may go straight enough  
 to hit a small object; besides which, it is ad-  
 vantageous in taking an aim through a thick  
 bush. Each individual in the party has only  
 two arrows, for, as soon as he has discharged  
 one from his bow, it is immediately brought to  
 him by one of the attendants who follow the  
 party. The bows also are rather longer than  
 those used in war, being about six feet, the war-  
 bows being about four feet and a half; nor are  
 they so strong, lest the difficulty of bending  
 them should occasion a slight trembling of the  
 hand, which would render the aim less certain.

Finow and his friends having finished their 779  
 shooting excursion, and taken some refresh- 823  
 ment, directed their walk at random across the 634  
 island, and arrived near a rock, noted by the 517  
 natives as being (in their estimation) the im-  
 mediate cause of the origin of all the Tonga  
 islands. It happened once (before these islands  
 were in existence) that one of their gods (Tan-  
 galoa) went out fishing with line and hook:  
 it chanced, however, that the hook got fixed in  
 a rock at the bottom of the sea, and, in conse-  
 quence of the god pulling in his line, he drew  
 up all the Tonga islands, which, they say,  
 would have formed one great land; but the

773 line accidentally breaking, the act was incom-  
 823 plete, and matters were left as they now are.  
 They show a hole in the rock, about two feet  
 diameter, which quite perforates it, and in  
 [643] which Tangaloa's hook got fixed. It is more-  
 over said that Tooitonga (the divine chief) had,  
 till within a few years, this very hook in his  
 possession, which had been handed down to  
 him by his forefathers; but, unfortunately, his  
 house catching fire, the basket in which the  
 727 hook was kept got burnt with its contents. Mr.  
 124 Mariner once asked Tooitonga what sort of a  
 643 hook it was, and was told that it was made of  
 773 tortoise-shell, strengthened by a piece of the  
 bone of a whale: in size and shape it was just  
 like a large albacore hook, measuring six or  
 seven inches long, from the curve to the part  
 where the line was attached, and an inch and  
 a half between the barb and the stem. Mr.  
 Mariner objected that such a hook must have  
 been too weak for the purpose; Oh no, said  
 Tooitonga, you must recollect that it was a  
 god's hook, and could not break;—how came  
 then the *line* to break? was it not also the pro-  
 perty of a god?—I do not know how that was,  
 replied Tooitonga; but such is the account  
 they give, and I know nothing farther about it.

634 A few days after this excursion, Finow hav-  
 484 ing portioned out several of the smaller

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they were greatly surprised at the sight of so <sup>000</sup> large a canoe, and considered this chief and his men as hotooas (gods) or superior beings, and would not suffer them to land, till they had spread on the ground a large roll of *gnatoo*, which extended about fifty yards, reaching from the shore to the house prepared for them. At <sup>1773</sup> this island Cow Mooala remained but a short <sup>171</sup> time: during his stay, however, the natives <sup>[404]</sup> treated him with very great respect, and took him to see some bones which were supposed to have belonged once to an immense giant; about whom they relate a marvellous account, which is current at Tonga as well as at Lotooma.

“ At a period before men of common stature lived at Tonga, two enormous giants resided there, who happening on some occasion to offend their god, he punished them by causing a scarcity on all the Tonga islands, which obliged them to go and seek food elsewhere. As they were vastly above the ordinary size of the sons of men now-a-days, they were able, with the greatest imaginable ease, to stride from one island to another, provided the distance was not more than about a couple of miles; at all events their stature enabled them to wade through the sea without danger, the water in general not coming higher than their knees, and in the deepest places not higher than their hips.

773  
171 Thus situated, no alternative was left them but to splash through the water in search of a more plentiful soil. At length they came in sight of the island of Lotooma, and viewing it at a distance with hungry eyes, one of them bethought himself that if this small island was ever so fruitful it could not supply more food than would be sufficient for himself at one meal; he resolved therefore wisely, out of pure consideration for his own stomach, to make an end of his companion: this he accordingly did, but by what means, whether by drowning him, strangling him, or giving him a blow on the head, tradition does not say. When he arrived at Lotooma he was no doubt very hungry, but at the same time he felt himself so sleepy that he was resolved to lie down and take a nap, particularly as night was fast approaching, and to satisfy his hunger the next morning: and very lucky it was for the poor natives that he did so, (for it appears this island was inhabited at that time). He accordingly made a pillow of the island of Lotooma, and not choosing to lie in the water, he stretched his legs (for so the story goes) over to the island of Fotoona, making a sort of bridge from one place to the other. By and by he snored to such a degree that both islands, particularly Lotooma, were shaken as if by an earthquake, so as greatly to disturb the peace-

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able inhabitants. The people of the latter island being roused from their slumbers were greatly alarmed, and well they might be, at this unreasonable and extraordinary noise. Having repaired to the place where his head lay, and discovering that it was an immense gigantic being fast asleep, they held a consultation what was best to be done; and came at length to a resolution of killing him, if possible, before he awoke, lest he might eat them all up. With this intention every man armed himself with an axe, and at a signal given they all struck his head at the same moment; up started the giant with a tremendous roar, and recovering his feet he stood aloft on the island of Lotooma, but being stunned with the blows, he staggered and fell again, with his head and body in the sea, and being unable to recover himself, he was drowned, his feet remaining upon dry land; and thus the great enemy was destroyed." 773  
171

As a proof of these facts they shew two enormous bones, which, as they say, belonged to this giant, and the natives in general believe it. The people of Tonga, however, are not quite so credulous with respect to this story, which they generally tell in a jocose way. Mr. Mariner asked Cow Mooala what sort of bones they were; he replied that they were enormously large, he could not well describe their shape,— 000



643 due to the divine character of this chief: and as this was done immediately after Tooitonga's death, his son did not succeed to this high title; so that if affairs still remain in the same state at Vavaoo, there is at present no Tooitonga, and probably never again will be; but if there should happen some violent political change, it is possible the son of the late divine chief may be raised to that honour: we therefore speak of Tooitonga as if actually existing.

[55] The family name of Tooitonga is Fatafehi, and  
 [565] the present head of the family, the only son (of legitimate rank,) is now a youth of about sixteen or seventeen years of age; his name is Fatafehi Low fili Tonga: he is still considered a chief of high rank, and has respect paid to him accordingly.

[565] Tooitonga and Veachi are both acknowledged  
 [719] descendants of chief gods who formerly visited  
 [716] the islands of Tonga, but whether their original mothers were goddesses or merely natives of Tonga, is a question which they do not pretend to decide. Of these two personages, Tooitonga, 643  
 823 as may be guessed from his title, is far higher in rank;—the word imports chief of Tonga, which 565  
 764 island has always been considered the most noble of all the Tonga islands, and from time immemorial the greatest chiefs have been accustomed to make it their principal place of re-

771 3. That there are besides several Hotooa Pow,  
776 or mischievous gods, whose attribute is never  
to dispense good, but petty evils and troubles,  
not as a punishment, but indiscriminately to  
whomsoever it may be, from a pure mischiev-  
ous disposition.

4. That all these superior beings, although they  
may perhaps have had a beginning, will have  
no end.

771 5. That the world also is of doubtful origin,  
773 and co-existent with the gods; the *solid* sky,  
the heavenly bodies, and the ocean, being  
pre-existent to the habitable earth, and that  
the Tonga islands were drawn out of the  
water by the god Tangaloa, whilst fishing with  
a line and hook.

6. That mankind, according to a partial tradi-  
tion, first came from Bolotoo, the chief re-  
sidence of the gods, an island to the north-  
westward, and resided at the Tonga islands,  
by command of Tangaloa: they consisted of  
two brothers, with their wives and attend-  
ants, whose original they pretend to know  
nothing about.

771 7. That all human evil is inflicted by the gods  
784 upon mankind, on account of some neglect  
of religious duty, either in the person or per-  
sons who suffer the inflictions, or in the egi  
or chief whom they serve; and the contrary  
of good.

772 the island is also well stocked with the most  
[824] beautiful birds of all imaginable kinds, as well  
[825] as with abundance of hogs, all of which are  
immortal, unless they are killed to provide food  
for the hotooas or gods; but the moment a hog  
or bird is killed, another living hog or bird im-  
mediately comes into existence to supply its  
place, the same as with the fruits and flowers;  
and this, as far as they know or suppose, is the  
only mode of propagation of plants and animals.  
The island of Bolotoo is supposed to be so far  
off as to render it dangerous for their canoes to  
attempt going there, and it is supposed more-  
over, that even if they were to succeed in reach-  
ing so far, unless it happened to be the par-  
ticular will of the gods, they would be sure to  
miss it. They give, however, an account of a  
772 Tonga canoe, which, on her return from the  
773 Fiji islands a long time ago, was driven by stress  
of weather to Bolotoo: ignorant of the place  
where they were, and being much in want of  
provisions,—seeing the country abound in all  
sorts of fruit, the crew landed, and proceeded  
to pluck some bread fruit, but to their un-  
speakable astonishment, they could no more lay  
hold of it than if it were a shadow; they walked  
through the trunks of the trees, and passed  
through the substance of the houses, (which  
were built like those of Tonga,) without feeling

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any resistance. They at length saw some of the hotooas, who passed through the substance of their bodies as if there were nothing there: the hotooas recommended them to go away immediately, as they had no proper food for them, and promised them a fair wind and a speedy passage. They accordingly put directly to sea, and in two days, sailing with the utmost velocity, they arrived at Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands,) at which place they wanted to touch before they went to Tonga. Having remained at Hamoa two or three days, they sailed for Tonga, where they arrived with great speed, but in the course of a few days they all died, not as a punishment for having been at Bolotoo, but as a natural consequence; the air of Bolotoo, as it were, infecting mortal bodies with speedy death. The hotooas are supposed to have no canoes, not requiring them; for if they wish to be any where, there they are the moment the wish is felt.

The HOTOOAS, or supernatural intelligent beings, may be divided into classes.

1. The original gods.
2. The souls of nobles, that have all attributes in common with the first, but inferior in degree.
3. The souls of matabooles, that are still in-

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• Too'r Bolo'too; literally, *chief of Bolotoo*.  
 This and the three following gods are all minor  
 gods of the sea and of voyages, and protectors  
 of Finow's family. Notwithstanding his name,  
 he is inferior to all the gods mentioned before  
 him; but much upon an equality with the three  
 following. He has two houses dedicated to him  
 at Vavaoo, and one at Lefooga; none elsewhere  
 that Mr. Mariner knew of: he has, perhaps,  
 two or three priests.

HA'LA A'PI A'PI; literally, *a road crowded*.  
 He has the same attributes as Tooi Bolotoo.  
 Mr. Mariner knows of no house dedicated to  
 him. He has one priest.

TO'GI OOCUMME'A; literally, *an iron are*. The  
 same attributes as the above.

TOOBO' BOO'GOO; literally, *Toobo the Short*.  
 The same attributes as the above.

TANGALO'A; god of artificers and the arts:  
 doubtful if he has any house dedicated to him:  
 has several priests, who are all carpenters. It  
 was this god that brought the Tonga islands  
 from the bottom of the sea, whilst fishing.

Such are the names and attributes of the  
 chief primitive gods; next to those in rank and  
 power come the souls of nobles.

Souls of EGIES, or NOBLES: of these there  
 must be a vast number. Their attributes are  
 similar to those of the primitive chief gods:

565 ways some purposes of ambition or enjoyment  
 761 yet to be satisfied; and when death does come,  
 it is rather to be wished for in the field of battle  
 than prostrate on a mat, overcome with pain  
 and disease, in the midst of one's friends and  
 relatives weeping and lamenting.

773 The next subject in order to speak of, is the  
 origin of the habitable earth, which, according  
 to their notions, vague as they are, is as follows:  
 —It is believed that originally there was no  
 land above the water but the island of Bolotoo,  
 which, like the gods, the heavenly bodies, and  
 the ocean, has probably always been. One  
 day Tangaloa, the god of arts and inventions,  
 went forth to fish in the great ocean, and having  
 from the sky let down his hook and line into  
 the sea, on a sudden he felt a great resistance:  
 believing that he had caught an immense fish,  
 he exerted his strength, and presently there ap-  
 peared above the surface several points of rocks,  
 which increased in number and extent the  
 more he drew in his line: the rocky bottom of  
 the ocean, in which it was now evident his  
 hook had caught, was thus fast advancing to  
 the surface, so as to have made one vast conti-  
 nent; when unfortunately the line broke, and  
 the islands of Tonga remain to shew the imper-  
 [823] fection of Tangaloa's attempt. The rock in  
 which the hook was fixed was already above the



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surface, and is to be seen to this day in the island of Hoonga, where they shew the very hole where it caught. The hook was in the possession of the Tooitonga family till about thirty years ago, when it was accidentally burnt along with the house in which it was kept.

Tangaloa having thus discovered land, by the divine influence of himself and other gods it was soon replete with all kinds of trees, herbs; and animals, such as were in Bolotoo, but of an inferior quality, and subject to decay and death. Being now willing that Tonga should also be inhabited by intelligent beings, he commanded his two sons thus\*: "Go, and take with you your wives, and dwell in the world at Tonga: divide the land into two portions; and dwell separately from each other. They departed accordingly. The name of the eldest was Toobó, and the name of the youngest was Váca-aców-oóli, who was an exceeding wise young man; for it was he that first formed axes, and invented beads, and cloth, and looking-glasses. The young man called Toobó acted very differently, being very indolent, sauntering about and sleeping; and envying very much the works of his brother. Tired at length with begging his

\* The following story is as nearly as possible a literal translation of the language in which they tell it.

773 "goods, he bethought himself to kill him, but:  
 539 "concealed his wicked intention; he accord-  
 1 "ingly met his brother walking, and struck  
 "him till he was dead. At that time their fa-  
 "ther came from Bolotoo with exceeding great  
 "anger, and asked him, Why have you killed  
 "your brother? Could not you work like him?  
 "Oh thou wicked one! begone! go with my  
 "commands to the family of Váca-acow-ooli;  
 "tell them to come hither. Being accord-  
 "ingly come, Tangaloo straightway ordered  
 "them thus: Put your canoes to sea, and sail  
 "to the east, to the great land which is there,  
 "and take up your abode there. Be your  
 "skins white like your minds, for your minds  
 "are pure; you shall be wise, making axes,  
 "and all riches whatsoever, and shall have  
 "large canoes. I will go myself and command  
 "the wind to blow from your land to Tonga;  
 "but they (the Tonga people) shall not be  
 "able to go to you with their bad canoes.

"Tangaloo then spoke thus to the others:—  
 "You shall be black, because your minds are  
 "bad, and shall be destitute; you shall not be  
 "wise in useful things, neither shall you go to  
 "the great land of your brothers; how can  
 "you go with your bad canoes? But your bro-  
 "thers shall come to Tonga, and trade with you  
 "as they please."

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Mr. Mariner took particular pains to make enquiries respecting the above extraordinary story, with a view to discover whether it was only a corrupted relation of the Mosaic account; and he found that it was not universally known to the Tonga people. Most of the chiefs and matabooles were acquainted with it, but the bulk of the people seemed totally ignorant of it. This led him at first to suspect that the chiefs had obtained the leading facts from some of our modern missionaries, and had interwoven it with their own notions; but the oldest men affirmed their positive belief that it was an ancient traditionary record, and that it was founded in truth. It seems strange that they should believe an account which serves so much to degrade them, and makes even their very chiefs to be descendants of bad men, cursed by their father with the evils of poverty and ignorance. Nevertheless, they readily own the superiority of the Papalangies, not only in knowledge, but disposition to do good; but, on the other hand, they do not as readily confess themselves to lie under a malediction: on the contrary, they maintain that they are far superior to us in personal beauty, and though we have more instruments and riches, they think that they could make a better use of them if they only had them in their possession. Of the chiefs

773 and matabooles who related the foregoing account, some believed it firmly, others left it as they found it, none positively disbelieved it.

773 Mr. Mariner related to them our scriptural and  
727 traditionary account of Cain and Abel, and ex-  
124 pressed his opinion, that they must have received their information either from the missionaries, or from some Papalangi at an early period, whom accident had thrown among them; but some still persisted that it was an original tradition of their own, whilst others owned there was so great a similarity between the two accounts, that they were disposed to believe they had received theirs from us, perhaps two or three or four generations back.

773 But such things do not very often form a sub-  
[521] ject of conversation among them; consequently their knowledge and belief of these matters (as they have no writings) become very vague, incongruous, and uncertain.

538 They have several other accounts of the origin of mankind, or rather of the first inhabitants of Tonga; but most of them are not only ridiculous but very confused and indeterminate, and, as Mr. Mariner believes, many are of no greater antiquity than the present generation, and invented perhaps for the purpose of passing away time for lack of better conversation, most of the natives being very fond of inventing

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tales for amusement, like the continental nations west of them, but very void of the poetic elegance of those nations. The account that is more universally known and believed, which is the least inconsistent with their general notions, and probably the most ancient, is the following:—

“ At a time when the islands of Tonga were already existing, but not yet peopled with intelligent beings, some of the minor gods of Bolotoo being desirous to see the new world (which Tangaloa had fished up), put to sea, about two hundred in number, male and female, in a large canoe, and arrived at the island of Tonga. They were so well pleased with the novelty of the place that they determined to remain there, and accordingly broke up their canoe to make small ones of it; but in a few days two or three of them died;— this phenomenon alarmed all the rest, for decay and death was what their notion of their own immortality did not lead them to expect. About this time one of them felt himself strangely affected, and by this he knew that one of the superior gods was coming from Bolotoo to inspire him; in a little time he was actually inspired, and was told that the chief gods had decreed, that as they had come to Tonga, and had breathed the air of

- 773 "the place, and had fed upon the produce of  
 539 "the place, they should become mortal, and  
 "people the world with mortal beings, and all  
 "about them should be *méa máma*\*. Upon  
 "this they were all exceedingly grieved, and  
 "were sorry they had broken up their canoe,  
 "but they made another, and some of them put  
 "to sea with the hope of regaining the island of  
 "Bolotoo; in which endeavour, if they suc-  
 "ceeded, they were to come back and fetch  
 "their companions: but they looked in vain  
 "for the land of the gods, and were obliged to  
 "return sorely afflicted to Tonga."

773 In the above story there is a little inconsis-  
 776 tency in respect to the gods coming from Bolo-  
 too in a canoe; for the gods are generally un-  
 derstood to have no canoes, not requiring  
 them,—for the moment they wish to be any  
 where, their wish is accomplished without any  
 further trouble, which is a mode of conveyance  
 far superior to any of our inventions, either an-  
 cient or modern.

773 The Tonga people have also a story among  
 777 them, respecting an island of immortal women  
 existing somewhere to the north-west of Fiji;

\* Things of this world, mortal, subject to decay and death,  
 in contradistinction to *méa hotoa*, things of the other world  
 (Bolotoo), or land of *holobas*, immortal, and always flour-  
 ishing.



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but this is suspected to be rather a Fiji tale than a tradition of their own, and consequently is not much believed among them. These immortal women are considered to be *hotoous*; but they are thought to have all the passions and propensities properly belonging to women of this world, insomuch that it is dangerous for canoes to put in there; not that the crew would be positively ill-treated by these fair goddesses, but too much kindness sometimes destroys as effectually, though perhaps not so quickly, as too much severity. It is reported that a Fiji canoe was once driven there by a gale of wind: the men landed, and were charmed with the truly kind reception they met with; but in a day or two, finding the climate much too warm for their constitution, they wisely betook themselves again to their canoe, and with some difficulty reached the Fiji islands, bringing sundry marvellous accounts of the nature of the country, and the reception they met with. This story is prevalent, not only at Tonga and Fiji, but also at Hamoa (the Navigator's island.) Some of the Fiji people believe it: the Hamoa people doubt it very much; and the generality of the Tonga people deny it altogether.

The natives of the Tonga islands have a traditional story respecting the origin of turtles;

779 and as we are here discoursing about their no-  
 825 tions of the world, which in some measure in-  
 volve their knowledge of natural history, it  
 ought properly to be told in this place.

A considerable time after the existence of  
 mankind at Tonga, a certain god, who lived in  
 the sky, and whose name was Langi, received  
 a command from the superior gods of Bolotoo  
 to attend a grand conference, shortly to be held  
 at the latter place, on some point of universal  
 importance. Now it happened that the god  
 Langi had several children\*; among others,  
 two daughters, beautiful young goddesses, who  
 were of an age in which vanity and the desire  
 to be admired was beginning to be a very  
 strong passion, and consequently they had often  
 expressed their wish to see the islands of Tonga,  
 and to visit the people that dwelt there; but  
 their father was too wise readily to give his  
 consent. Business of importance, however,  
 now demanded his absence from the sky; but  
 being fearful that his inexperienced daughters  
 might in the mean time descend to Tonga, he  
 gave them the strictest commands not to leave  
 their celestial residence till his return; and as  
 a motive for their obedience, he promised to

[776] \* It would appear from this that the gods are supposed to  
 have children, nevertheless Mr. Mariner believes that this is  
 not consistent with the general opinion of the natives.

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conduct them, when he came back, to Tonga, and gratify their wish with safety to themselves. With a view to strengthen his injunctions, and better to ensure their compliance, he represented in lively colours the many dangers they would subject themselves to, by infringing upon his commands: in the first place, he told them that the Hotooa Pow (mischievous gods), who resided at Tonga, would take every opportunity to molest them, and to throw difficulties and dangers in their way. Besides which, there were other evils of greater consequence to fear; for they were so beautiful (he told them), that the men of Tonga would furiously fight among themselves to obtain them for their wives, and that the quarrels occasioned by them would, no doubt, offend the superior gods of Bolotoo; and he (Langi) should thereby get into disgrace. The two goddesses having promised obedience to their father's orders, he descended with speed to Bolotoo. He had scarcely left the sky, when they began to reason together on what he had told them: one said to the other, our father has only promised to take us to Tonga that he may keep us here till he come back; for has he not often promised us the same thing and never fulfilled his word? True; said the other, let us go to Tonga by ourselves for a little time, just to look at the *máma* people,

773 and we will return before he shall know any  
 825 thing of it; besides, (said both of them together) has he not told us that we are more beautiful than the women of Tonga? Yes! let us go immediately to Tonga and be admired, for in the sky there are many other goddesses nearly as beautiful as ourselves, and we are scarcely noticed. Upon this they descended together to the island of Tonga, and, having alighted in a lonely place, they walked towards the *mooa*, discoursing as they went on the homage that was soon to be paid to their charms. When they arrived at the *mooa*, they found the king and all his chiefs and principal people engaged in some grand ceremony of rejoicing, and were then drinking their cava. The moment they arrived all eyes were turned upon them, and all hearts, except those that envied, were filled with admiration and love. The young chiefs vied with each other in showing them the most signal attentions\*; they already began to be

[562] \* It is not the least remarkable trait in the character of the  
 [171] Tonga people, that on almost all occasions they shew very marked attention to females; and we believe that among all the different clusters of islands in the South Seas, the natives of these are singular in this respect. The women of Tonga are not obliged to labour to procure the necessaries of life for their idle husbands: the men work; the women do chiefly those offices that are requisite for domestic comfort, and for the promotion of health and cleanliness,

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jealous of each other; they left off drinking 773  
cava, and the whole assembly was put in con- 825  
fusion. At length the young men began to  
quarrel among themselves, but the king, to  
settle all disputes, by virtue of his superior  
power took them home to his own residence:  
the sun had scarcely set, however, before cer-  
tain chiefs, with a strong armed force, rescued  
them from the king's house: the whole island  
was soon in a state of confusion and alarm, and  
early the following morning a bloody war was  
commenced. In the mean time the gods of  
Bolotoo heard what was going forward at  
Tonga, and they immediately with great indig-  
nation charged poor Langi with being the cause  
of these disturbances: this god said in his de-  
fence, that he had ordered his daughters to re-  
main at home, but unfortunately they were dis-  
obedient children. He immediately left the  
synod of gods, and flew with all speed to Tonga,  
where he found that one of his daughters, by  
having eaten of the productions of the place,  
had deprived herself of immortality, and was al-  
ready dead. The loss of his daughter enraged  
him to the utmost extreme; he sought for the  
other, and, seizing her by the hair, he severed  
her head from her body: the head he threw  
into the sea, and flew, with rage and disappoint-  
ment, back to the sky. The head in a short

779 time turned into a turtle, and was the origin  
 825 and source of all the turtle now found in the  
 world.

262 This story obtains almost universal credit at  
 784 the Tonga islands; in consequence, turtles are  
 [153] considered as almost a prohibited food, at least  
 very few will venture to eat them without first  
 offering a portion to some god, or sending some  
 to any chief that may be at hand: and there  
 are many that will not eat turtle on any ac-  
 count, being fearful of its producing enlarged  
 livers, or some such visceral complaint. It is  
 not supposed, however, to be so likely to have  
 a bad effect upon great chiefs, as they approach  
 so near in rank and character to the gods  
 themselves.

773 Such are their principal notions respecting  
 the origin of things. As to the first formation  
 of the solid sky (as they deem it), or the island  
 of Bolotoo, or the gods themselves, they pre-  
 tend to form no idea, and never think of agi-  
 tating the question, whether they are eternal,  
 or whether they had a beginning, deeming all  
 such speculations as vain and fruitless; for  
 who, say they, can remember, or who has been  
 [538] there to see? They have no legends or tales  
 [171] that seem to resemble those of the Society  
 islands, as related by Captain Cook.

823 Respecting the earth, their notion is, that it



## THE TONGA LANGUAGE.

Te mo wo afé gi Hapai?  
 Iky' teoo iloa: coe low, te mow  
 tatali heni bu valoo bea ongofooloo.

E'ooa-ger ger aloo teoo atop he mea  
 ma éooa fae gi-ai.

Gooa lillé.  
 Tow wo gi he cava gi lotoá?

Io, tow wo.

Shall you go when to Hapai? 521  
 Not shall I know (1): they say 192  
 shall we remain here eight or ten  
 days.

When you are about to go, I will  
 give (to you) some things for my  
 mother there.

Very well!  
 Let us go to the cava within the  
 fencing.

Yes, let us go.

The following is the story of Tangaloa and his two sons, related p. 115,  
 of this volume. The sentences are here put into paragraphs, the better to  
 assist the eye in distinguishing the English for each principal word. 773 539

*Tomooa caky' he fonnoa.*

Coe hotooa co Tangaloa, mo enne  
 foha toca \* ooa na-now nofo gi Bolo-  
 too.

Now nofo-nofo bea low leva Tanga-  
 loa gi enne foha toca-ooa,

Aloo ginóoa mo he ohana, mo  
 nonofo gi mama gi Tonga.

"Vahé ooa he fonnooa, be mo  
 nonofo gehe-gehe:" now aloo leva.

He hingoa he jiena lahi co Toobó;  
 he hingoa he jiena chi, co Vaca  
 Acóo-woli.

Coe tama boto obito; co ia na  
 tomooa guahi he togí, moe coola, moe  
 papalangi, moe jiawta.

Coe tama, fy gehe obito, co Too-  
 bó; fucca bico-bico.

Na notu eva-eva beia, moe mohe,  
 moe nannoo obito he gnáooe enne  
 towgete.

Fioo he cawle enne mea, manatou

*First peopling the land.*

The god Tangaloa, and his sons  
 two, did they dwell at Bolotoo.

They (had) dwelt (a long time)  
 when spoke accordingly Tangaloa to  
 his sons two,

Go both, with your wives, and  
 dwell in the world at Tonga.

"Divide (into) two the land, and  
 you dwell separately:" they went  
 accordingly.

The name (of) the person large;  
 (i. e. the elder) (was) Toboo; the  
 name (of) the person little; (i. e.  
 the younger) (was) Vaca Acowooli.

Was the young man (the latter)  
 wise exceedingly; was he did first  
 make axes, and the beads, and the  
 papalangi (cloth), and the looking-  
 glass.

The young man did differently  
 very, (viz.) Toboo; (he was) lazy.

Remained walking about only he;  
 and sleeping, and envying exceed-  
 ingly the works (of) his elder brother.

Tired (of) begging his things, (he)

\* Toca is the sign of the plural number of intelligent beings. See  
 NOUNS.

## A GRAMMAR OF

713 ger tamatea, mo toi-toi ger féia emne  
539 covi.

Feccatagi leva he eva emne tehina,  
téia leva ger mate.

Lolotonga he how now tammy' me  
Bolotoo moe foo ita obito,

Fehooli leva is, Coehá na ger  
tamate ho tehina? iky tegger gnáooe  
coy ángécó is? wi! moe covi! flamo-  
aloo!

Talangí gi he cow-mea a Vaca  
Aców ooli: talangi ger now how gi-  
heni.

Now how leva, bes feców giate  
ginówtóloo leva Tangaloo:

Mo wo toho vaca gi tahi; mo  
felów gi tocalów gi he fonnooa lahi  
gi-ai, mo nonofo ai:

Be mo gili tea ange-be-co mo loto,  
coe loto lillé:

Te mo boto, guahl togi, moe coloa  
fooli-be, be mo vaca lahi.

Cowca aloo au talangi gi he ma-  
tangí ger how me mo fonnooa gi  
Tonga.

Iky' chi te now felów giate gimó-  
táloo moe now vaca covi.

Lea-angi leva Tangaloo gi he  
towgete, tegger ooli-ooli coy, co mo  
loto covi; be ger sese.

Iky' obito tegger mea lillé, iky'  
tegger aloo gi he fonnooa hu tehina;  
sefe tegger aloo ai, moe mo vaca  
covi?

Co ho tehina be tenne how gi  
Tonga fúccatów mo gimótóloo.

bethought himself to kill him, and  
concealed (himself) to effect his evil  
(purpose).

Met (he) accordingly the walking,  
his brother, (and) struck-he (him)  
accordingly to death.

At that time coming their father  
from Bolotoo with great anger ex-  
ceeding,

Asked then he, Why have you  
killed your brother? not could you  
work (3) like him? fye! and wicked!  
begone!

Tell to the family of Vaca Acow-  
ooli: tell (them) that they come  
hither.

They came accordingly, when  
commanded to them thus Tangaloo:

You go (and) launch canoes to  
sea; and sail to the east, to (the)  
land great there, and dwell there.

And your skin (be it) white just  
like your mind, it is a mind good.

Shall you (be) wise, making axes,  
and riches all-whateoever, and also  
cances large.

In the mean time, go I (to) tell to  
the wind that (it) comes from your  
land to Tonga.

(But) not little, (i. e. not all) shall  
they sail to you with their canoes  
bad.

Spoke thus Tangaloo to the elder  
brother, shall you (be) black, as  
your mind (is) bad; and you (shall  
be) destitute.

Not much shall you (have) things  
good; not shall you go to the land  
(of) your brother; how can you go  
there with your canoes bad?

Your brother only shall come to  
Tonga to trade with you.

533 The following is the song of which the translation was given in the first  
539 volume, p. 293. It belongs to the Nuha mode of composition. (See chap.  
93. of this vol.)

Mow nolo-nolo talanóa gi Vavao

We remained talking about Va-

## Gifford—Tongan Place Names

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- Tract on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord.
- Aleakula.** Conversation about the kula bird [alea, conversation; kula, a small bird with red feathers, apparently not a Tongan species]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V).
- Alofa.** Hunger. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa (H). Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).
- Aleipata.** Pull hard for the gravelly beach [alei, (?); pata, rough sand]. Beach on Haano island (H). Only the stem pata seems to occur in modern Tongan. It means rough sand or gravel. In Samoan pata means coarse, in reference to sand. In Samoan alei means to drive, to chase. It is used as an entreaty to persons pulling in a boat against the wind to make haste: Push the boat, drive her, fight the wind. Hence the whole name may mean "pull hard for the gravelly beach." Tongan mythology attributes to the name a Samoan origin. The beach is reputed to be the place where the bonito, brought from Samoa, first appeared in Tonga. The name was given to commemorate the putative Samoan origin of the fish. The meaning of Aleipata also reflects an incident in the story of the coming of the bonito, in which a human hero urges a nearly exhausted Fijian attendant to continue his efforts to swim to the shore.
- Aleipata.** Tract near Kapa, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Tuane-kivale, village on Vavau island (V).
- Alele.** Enclosure of sugar cane [a, enclosure; lele, a kind of sugar cane]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Vakatumai, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also district on Nuafoou island (NF).
- Alepea.** Arabia. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Site of the stone government office building. Also tract in Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Aleva.** To be awake at once [a, to be awake; leva, at once]. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Alinonga.** Peaceful baldness [ali, baldness; nonga, peaceful]. Island (V).
- Allo.** To carry all fish [ali, a transparent fish of the genus *Rhomboidichthys*, o, to carry]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Alo.** Height. Name of summit of Mt. Talau on Vavau island (V).
- Alofaki.** To sit in a row. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Alofi.** Kava ring. Tract near Vaotuu, village near Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Uihā, village on Uihā island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Alofia.** To overtake. Tract on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord.
- Alofitai.** Circular kava ring [aloifi, kava ring; tai, circular]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).
- Alofitaoa.** Kava ring surrounded by spears [aloifi, kava ring; tao, spear; a, to surround]. Tract near Fotua, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Alolea.** Long fence [a, fence; tolea, long]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Alomaloa.** Fine height (the grave mound) of indolence [alo, height; malo, fine; aa, indolence]. Cemetery on Tongatabu island (T). Perhaps a euphemism for the graveyard. Cemetery of the family of the chief Lomu.
- Alomanukia.** Reviled child of rank [alo, child of rank; manukia, to revile]. Tract near Angaha, village on Nuafoou island (NF).
- Aloefa.** Compassion, mercy. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

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## Gifford—Tongan Place Names

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- Apitaki. Bartered home [api, home; taki, to barter]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Houma—Vaea, landlord, Haateiho—Tui Haateiho, landlord, Havelu—Fielakepa, landlord, Folaha, and Nukuleka—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord.
- Apitalata. Home or tract with thorny, prickly undergrowth [api, home; talata, thorny, prickly]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Apitamaikila. Home possessed of children [api, home; tamaiki, children; i, with; a, belonging to]. Tract near Longomapu, village on Vavau island (V) Veikuna, landlord.
- Apivao. Home in the woods (bush) [api, home; vao, woods, bush]. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord. Also tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord. Also tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Apivaoalo. The lower home in the woods [api, home; vao, woods; alo, below]. Tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Apo. To burn lights in the night with one very ill or one dead. Tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.
- Aponima. To feast five times following the reception of something valuable [apo, to feast upon the reception of something valuable; nima, five]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Apopo. Rotten fence [a, fence; popo, rotten]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Asiale. Enclosure of gardenias [a, enclosure; siale, gardenia]. Tract in Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Aslu. A shrub (*Cucumis acidus*). Tract on Niuafu island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.
- Ata. A shadow. Island. Pylstaart, the southernmost Tongan island, elevation 1165 feet. Also tract near Teekiu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Motuapuaka, landlord. Also tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafu island (NF).
- Ata. Space, room. Island (T). On reef lying north of Tongatabu.
- Ataatahau. Approaching twilight [ataata, twilight; hau, to come, to arrive]. Tract near Koloval, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord. Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Atafau. Space in which to gather things in bundles [ata, space, room; fau, to gather in bundles]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Atafolo. To swallow a shadow [ata, shadow; folo, to swallow]. Tract near Utha, village on Utha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Atalama. Shining reflection [ata, to reflect as a mirror; lama, to shine, the reflection or light from a distance]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V).
- Atalanga. To erect, or to originate, space [ata, space; langa, to erect, to originate]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V). The reputed home of Maui Atalanga, the deity who thrust up the sky, which, mythology says, once lay so close over the earth that human beings could not walk upright. [776] [773]
- Atalao. Perhaps a misspelling of Atalao, which means "space without bounds." Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Atamaiotua. Mind of god [atamai, mind; otua, god]. Tract near Mus, village on Niuafu island (NF).
- Atata. Shadow of the curved end of a Tongan house [ata, shadow; ta, curved end of a Tongan house]. Island (T). Also tract near Koloval, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.

## Gifford—Tongan Place Names

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**Avalanga.** Erected passage [ava, passage; langa, to erect]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord. 103

**Avalau.** Noisy enclosure [a, enclosure; valau, noise]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Fakafanus, landlord. Also tract near Haano, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract on Ovaka Island (V). Also tract near Taqa, village on Vavau Island (V). Also tract on Niuatoputapu Island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord. Also tract on Niuafuou Island (NF).

**Avalimamoto.** Passage of budding seaweed [ava, passage; limu, seaweed; moto, to bud]. Passage between reefs, leading to Pangai, Lifuka Island (H).

**Avalu.** Eight enclosures [a, enclosure; valu, eight]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Avalua.** Vomiting passage [ava, passage; lua, to vomit; (perhaps in reference to a swift current)]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau Island (V). Also tract near Falehau, village on Niuatoputapu Island (NT).

**Avamatamataveka.** Passage resembling a veka fish [ava, passage; matamata, to resemble; veka, a kind of fish]. A passage south of the Uonuku Islands (H).

**Avamatanukupule.** Passage along the edge of Nukupule [ava, passage; mata, edge; Nukupule, name of an island]. Passage between the reef Hakauihi and Lofanga Island (H).

**Avamuikuku.** Passage of holding fast the buttocks with the hands [ava, passage; mul, buttocks; kuku, to hold fast in the hands]. An approach to Lifuka Island (H) past the reef called Muikuku. Mythology says that here a goddess held her buttocks to prevent the extrusion of two yams, which she had swallowed in Samoa and was transporting to Tonga to plant. 173

**Avamutu.** Passage that has been cut across [ava, passage; mutu, to cut or tear across]. Passage between reefs, to Hihifo, Lifuka Island (H).

**Avaniu.** Hollow coconut [ava, hollow; niu, coconut]. Tract on Fonofua Island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

**Avamalaui.** Passage of the malau bird [ava, passage; o, of; malau, a bird peculiar to Niuafuou (Megapodius burnabyi)]. Tract on Niuafuou Island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

**Avapulepulekal.** Passage of the biting pulepule shellfish [ava, passage; pulepule, a kind of shellfish; kal, to bite]. Strait (V). Southwestern approach to Vavau harbor.

**Avapupu.** Crowded passage, perhaps referring to rocks in the channel [ava, passage; pupu, a crowd of persons]. Strait to south of Lekeleka Island (H).

**Avatafaanga.** Passage for fishing canoes [ava, passage; tafaanga, fishing canoe]. Passage on Tongatabu Island (T). On weather shore.

**Avatal.** Row of crevices [ava, crevice; tai, a row]. Tract near Nelaui, village on Vavau Island (V).

**Avatauofi.** Passage of restless curling waves [ava, passage; tauofi, restless; fi, to curl]. Strait between Fotubaa and Fatulinanangi Islands (H).

**Avatonga.** South passage [ava, passage; tonga, south]. Place on Tongatabu Island (T). Formerly called Fota; on the lagoon.

**Avatongo.** Crevice with preparation for turning the hair red [ava, crevice; tongo, preparation for turning the hair red]. Cemetery near Otea, village on Kapa Island (V). On the tract called Houmakalea.

**Avatupu.** Growing passage [ava, passage; tupu, to grow]. An approach between reefs on the west side of Lifuka Island (H).

**Avaul.** The opening which calls [ava, opening; ul, to call]. Temple near Takakamotonga, village on Tongatabu Island (T). A temple of the god Talfai Tupou.

103 Avavahaafcnua. Passage between lands [ava, passage; vahaa, short distance between islands; fonua, land]. Strait between Luangahu and Hakauata islands (H).

Aveta. To be deprived of a row of bananas [ave, to deprive of; ta, row of bananas]. Tract near Utul, village on Vavau island (V)—Ahomee, landlord.

Avokala. Avocadoes (alligator pears) in abundance [avoka, avocado; la, to abound]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Ee. Name of a fish. Tract on Niuafuou island (NF).

Efeso. Biblical name Ephesus. Tract on Matuku island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.

Elesl. English proper name Elsie. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Ell. The word may be keli with the k dropped as in Samoan, in which case its probable meaning is "ditch." Tract on Okoa island (V). Also tract near Utulei, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

Ellil. Certain of the species of the genus Turbo, univalve shells. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Ellml. Biblical name Elisha. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Enelo. Two persons to go and report something with the design of causing laughter [enel, to report anything with the design of causing laughter; o, to go, applied to two or more]. Beach near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).

Esla. The handle of any tool. Tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also district on Niuafuou island (NF).

Esiomoheofo. Mound of the chief wife of the Tui Tonga [esi, artificial mound; o, of; moheofo, chief wife of the Tui Tonga]. Mound near Pangai, village on Eua island (T). On weather side, east of the village of Pangai. The mound is said to have been made by the people of Eua for the first moheofo who resided in Eua and who is said to have chosen Eua as a residence because of the cooler dwelling sites offered by the hills and valleys of the island in contrast to flat Tongatabu. It is probable that the moheofo referred to is the historic Tupoumoheofo, the wife of Tui Tonga Pau of Captain Cook's time.

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Eua. Belonging to the corner of an axe [eu, corner of an axe; a, belonging to]. Island (T). The name probably alludes to the mythical origin of Eua, which is said to have been formed of the dust from the grindstone of the god Tangaloa Tufunga, which was poured down from the sky. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Mekaunga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Manuka, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Eukafa. Coconut-fiber rope of Eua [eua, see above; kafa, cordage made from the fibers of the coconut husk]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also island (V). Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Eueiki. Little Eua [eue, equals eua with vowel changed, name of large island of Tongatabu group; iki, little, small]. Island (T). Also tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also island (V). Tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufull, landlord.

Eveeva. To walk at pleasure. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.



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- Fa.** Pandanus. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, land-<sup>103</sup>lord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafu island (NF).
- Faangahihi.** The habit of frequently speaking evil of others [faa, frequently; anga, habit; hihi, to speak evil of others]. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V).
- Faafefine.** A woman industrious in agriculture [faa, industrious in agriculture; fefine, woman]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.
- Faakapa.** Industrious in kape growing [faa, industrious in agriculture; kape, an edible plant (*Arum costatum*)]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Faakofe.** Industrious in bamboo growing [faa, industrious in agriculture; kofe, bamboo]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Faafolani.** To be constantly on loving terms [faa, constant; folani, loving terms]. This meaning, vouched for by two Tongan informants, cannot be verified by the dictionaries. Tract on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord.
- Faatoto.** Frequent bleeding [faa, frequent; toto, to bleed]. Well near Koulo, village on Lifuka island (H). The water hole of the god Tangakina.
- Faalemotaaonga.** Brought forth but useless [fae, to bring forth; mo, and; taaonga, useless]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Fafa.** To feel the way. Island (T). An island of the chain stretching along the northern face of Tongatabu island. Perhaps the name of the island refers to its position. It is the westernmost of the chain connected by reefs. Tau island is at the other extremity of the chain. Also tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.
- Fafao.** To stretch. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Fafasi.** To break as waves in succession. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.
- Fafine.** Women. Tract near Tafuani, village on Vavau island (V).
- Fafini.** The name is from an Admiralty chart and is probably a misspelling of "fafine," which means "women." Islet near Vavau island (V). An islet in east central part of the Vavau group. <sup>(114)</sup>
- Fahamofaha.** Yam and yam [fata, a kind of yam; mo, and]. Reefs or rocks near or on Uoleva island (H).
- Fahafa.** Split grass [fa, split; hafa, a kind of grass]. Village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niu-kapu, landlord. Also tract on Niuafu island (NF).
- Fahilelaa.** Split by the sun [fahi, to split; la, an archaic word equivalent to e, by; laa, sun]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Fahina.** The white pandanus [fa, pandanus; hina, white]. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Oloua island (V).
- Faia.** To go to meet someone and execute a command [faia, to execute; a, to meet]. Landing on Tofua island (H). The name probably refers to the Samoan Faia's being sent by Tui Tofua to the chief of Tofua island with instructions how to receive the sharks. So named because here Faia, a Sa-<sup>103</sup>  
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mean companion of Tui Tofua, a chief's son who became a shark, landed after refusing to make the metamorphosis of his leader and companions. See also the place name Valvaia.

**Faiafa.** The act of exaggeration [fal, to do; afa, to wish to astonish others with what is of daily occurrence]. Tract on Niuafu island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

**Falafo.** To put one course or range of thatch on a Tongan house [fal, to do; afo, one course or range of thatch on a Tongan house]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Falahomohi.** To sleep during the day [fal, to do; aho, day; mohe, to sleep]. Tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

**Faiana.** To perform in a cave [fal, to perform; ana, cave]. Tract near Kalaau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also sea cave on Eua island (T). Also tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).

**Falapu.** Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord.

**Falapuuta.** The inland Falapu [uta, inland]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Faifal.** To become evident. Tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V).

**Faifaiu.** Fatigue becoming evident [faifal, to become evident; flu, fatigue]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.

**Faifekau.** One who executes commands, a missionary, a delegate. Tract on Tunua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

**Faifononga.** To do a journey [fal, to do; fononga, a journey]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

**Faihau.** Performance of the reigning prince [fal, performance; hau, reigning prince]. Tract near Utha, village on Utha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Faihava.** Completed passage [fal, to do, to perform, to execute; hava, passage, according to one Tongan informant. The dictionaries give ava]. Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord. Also tract on Fonofua island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also the northern point of Ofolanga island (H). Also tract on Ovaka island (V). Also tract on Taunga island (V)—Aksuola, landlord. Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also strait near Vavau island (V). Also northwestern approach to Vavau harbor. Also tract on Niuafu island (NF).

**Faihavafoa.** Completed fractured passage [fal, to do, to perform, to discharge, to execute; hava, passage; foa, to fracture]. Inlet of lagoon in Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).

**Faihavahili.** Completed terminal passage [fal, to do, to perform, to discharge, to execute; hava, passage; hili, the end or termination]. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Faihavamotua.** Completed old passage [fal, to do, to perform, to discharge, to execute; hava, passage; motua, old]. Place on the weather shore of Tongatabu island (T).

**Faihavamusie.** Completed grassy passage [fal, to do, to perform, to discharge, to execute; hava, passage; musie, grass]. Tract in Foliaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Faihavata.** Completed hewn passage [fal, to do, to perform, to discharge, to execute; hava, passage; ta, to hew]. Inlet of lagoon in Tongatabu island (T).

**Faihavatoto.** Completed bloody passage [fal, to do, to perform, to discharge, to execute; hava, passage; toto, blood]. Tract near Siesia, village on Nukunukumu island (T).

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**Fakaamu.** A wish, longing desire; to wish, to desire. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Fakaamumei.** To desire breadfruit [fakaamu, to desire; mei, breadfruit]. Anchorage at northern end of Lifuka Island (H). At the anchorage Fakaamumei, mythology says the goddess Fehuluni, travelling from Samoa to Tonga, desired breadfruit; hence the name. Also tract near Koulo, village on Lifuka Island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Fon Island (H).

**Fakaamunoa.** Trivial desire [fakaamu, desire; noa, trivial]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Fakaamuvaka.** To wish for a boat [fakaamu, to wish; vaka, boat]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.

**Fakaanu.** To be in the water. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Fakaangatonu.** To criticize correctly [fakaanga, to criticize; tonu, correct]. Tract near Nukuleka, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

**Fakaangiangi.** To hang or place anything in the wind to dry. Tract on Haafeva Island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Fakaata.** To take alm. Tract near Taisfoou, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Lauaki, landlord.

**Fakaatumahina.** The disappearance of the moon [fakaatu, to cease for a time; mahina, moon]. Tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

**Fakaaungalahi.** To arrange a large gathering of people at a specified time and place [faka, to cause; aunga, to agree to meet at a specified time and place; lahi, large]. Place on weather shore of Tongatabu Island (T), where there is surf.

**Fakaetete.** To walk softly, without noise. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

**Fakafafa.** To sling on a stick and carry over the shoulder. One of two huge upright monoliths on Tafahi Island (NT). These two monoliths are compared by native informants to the two uprights of the trilithon on Tongatabu Island. Like that trilithon the Tafahi monoliths are said to have been the burden of Maui; hence the name Fakafafa.

**Fakafal.** To cause to do. District near Pangai, village on Lifuka Island (H).

**Fakafaifekau.** Like one who executes commands [faka, like; faifekau, one who executes commands]. District on Lofanga Island (H).

**Fakafanua.** Like the sea coast in contrast to the depths of the sea [faka, like; fanua, the sea coast in contrast to the depths of the sea]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

**Fakafanuamanu.** Flock of birds so large as to resemble the sea coast [faka, like; fanua, the sea coast in contrast to the depths of the sea; a, of; manu, birds]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau Island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Also hillside near Longomapu, village on Vavau Island (V).

**Fakafefaahi.** Two parties, one opposing the other in play, work, or war. Two Tongan informants vouch for this meaning, which cannot be verified by the dictionaries. Tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Lavaka, landlord.

**Fakafihl.** To confuse, to entangle. Tract near Taea, village on Vavau Island (V).

**Fakafiu.** Tiresome, wearisome. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu Island (T).

**Fakafusu.** To fructify. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau Island (V).

**Fakafuenga.** To deal out in proportion. This meaning, from a single Tongan informant, remains unverified. Tract near Fouf, village on Tongatabu Island (T)

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- Haamatua.** Family of elderly people [haa, family; matua, elderly people]. Former village on Tofua island (H). Also tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. 103
- Haamauti.** Family of Maui the demigod; or living family; [haa, family; mauri, alive, well, convalescent, applied to several]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord.
- Haamautau.** Family of war prisoners [haa, family; mau, to obtain, to possess; tau, war]. Tract near Sapaata, village on Niuafoou island (NF). Also tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Haamea.** Family that attends to [haa, family; mea, to attend to]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also tract and district near Fatai, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Haalaufu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufu, landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Haameneuli.** Family that obeys the call of nature [haa, family; meneuli, to obey the call of nature]. Tract near Teeki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Motuapuka, landlord. Also tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Former name of village of Niutoua on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uliha, village on Uliha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Haamo.** Family of the chicken [haa, family; moa, chicken] or perhaps killing like fowls [haa (or haa), to strike; moa, chicken]. Probably in most cases the tracts are named for Samoa, Haamo being the Tongan name for that country. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Kolovai—Ata, landlord, Lakepa—Lalike, landlord, and Hamula—Pangia, landlord. Also tract on Oua island (H). Also cliff on Fotuhaa island (H). So named because a Samoan jumped from it and was killed and became a stone, which is now pointed out. Also tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF). 773
- Haamoana.** Family of the ocean [haa, family; moana, ocean]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Haamofuta.** Family that assumed a proud and daring gait [haa, family; mofuta, to assume a proud and daring gait]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Hamula, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Haamoko.** Family of the gecko [haa, family; moke, gecko]. Tract and fortress gate near Matafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Gate on southeast-by-east side of fortress of Hule. Also tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.
- Haamolo.** Family of stampers [haa, family; moloki, to stamp, to tread]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho.
- Haamololalo.** Lower Haamolo [lalo, lower]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Haamololiku.** Haamolo on the weather shore [liku, weather shore]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Haamomoe.** Tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Haamongamaui.** Burden of Maui [haamonga, a burden carried on the shoulders, suspended from each end of a stick; a, of; mauri, the demigod]. Trilithon near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Haamotuavae.** Family of the big toe [haa, family; motuavae, big toe]. Tract on Uoleva island (H). Also tract and district near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

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- Maangongo.** Family of the noddy tern [haa, family; ngongo, noddy tern]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Malapo, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, and Lavengatonga. Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu.
- Maao.** The moving family [haa, family; o, to go—(applied to two or more)]. Tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Maaoia.** Successful family [haa, family; oia, to succeed]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also district on Nomuka island (H).
- Maaoiatafanga.** Family at home at the landing place [haa, family; o, of; iata, at home in a place; fanga, landing place]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord.
- Haapal.** Family of the coalescing fingers or toes [haa, family; pal, fingers or toes growing together, or a twisted foot]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Ahau, Matahau, Tofoa, Nukualofa, and Malapo—Luani, landlord. The central island group of the Tongan archipelago. Anciently the name seems to have been applied specifically to the islands of Uoleva, Lifuka, Foa, Nukunamu, and Haano, all of which are united by reefs; hence, perhaps the name meaning coalescing fingers or toes. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord. Also tract near Sapaata, village on Niuafuou island (NF).
- Haapalfoou.** New Haapal [foou, new]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.
- Haapalhonga.** Famished Haapal [honga, famine, scarcity of food]. Tract near Holeva, village on Koloa island (V); perhaps so named from the coming of Haapal people to beg food.
- Haapaluta.** Inland Haapal [uta, inland]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Haapau.** Confident family [haa, family; pau, confident]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Haapaulalo.** Lower Haapau [lalo, lower]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.
- Haapaulota.** Center of Haapau [loto, center]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.
- Haapauuta.** Inland Haapau [uta, inland]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.
- Haapeka.** Family of the flying fox [haa, family; peka, flying fox]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Matahau, Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, and Nukualofa.
- Haapekauta.** Inland Haapeka [uta, inland]. Tract on Niuafuou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.
- Haapele.** Family of favorites [haa, family; pele, favorite]. Tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord.
- Haapueia.** Family first at making nets [haa, family; pue, to be first; ia, to make nets]. District near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Haapuio.** Family that veils the face [haa, family; puio, to veil the face]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Haapunga.** Family of the coral [haa, family; punga, coral]. So named apparently because here the hero Pungalotohoa threw and broke coconut trees in a contest with the hero Muni. The punga (coral) in the place name would seem to be a short rendering of the hero's name. Tract near Tokomololo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

103 Hafektivaka. To carry suspended by a string from the neck or shoulder to a boat [hafa, to carry suspended by a string from the neck or shoulder; ki, to; vaka, boat]. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.

Hafeofafine. Women's menstuous cloths [hafa, a menstuous cloth; o, of; fafine, women]. Trees on Vavau island (V). Two hehea trees, one on each side of the road called Halakavakava on or near Mt. Kafoa.

Hahafu. To fall in drops. Tract near Koloua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Hahala. To appear. Tract in Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Site of the Catholic church and formerly of the house of the god Tui Haafakafanua.

Hahake. Eastern division of Tongatabu island. Apparently restricted sometimes to northeastern portion as indicated in the following: "Then he transferred to Hahake" from Fuaamotu in the southeastern portion. The term is applied to the eastern portion of any island. I have heard it used for eastern part of Fotuhaa island, Haapai group.

[773] Hahamolofia. Probably hahamolofia, scarce. A place seen by the divine plover (Tangaloa Atulolongolongo) from Eua in the days of creation and upon which it stood, originating the saying: "When the tide is low plovers have a foundation."

Haila. To appear spotted [ha, to appear; lla, a mark, a spot]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Haimale. To blind in the male game [hal, to blind; male, a game]. Tract near Hahafa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord.

Haks. A hole cut into the trunk of a tree, for holding water. Tract near Lel-matua, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.

Hakangavalu. Boiling place of the valu fish [haka, to boil; anga, place; valu, a fish]. Tract on Taunga island (V)—Akaula, landlord.

Hakatu. To move the hands as in dancing while standing [haka, to move the hands as in dancing; tuu, to stand]. Tract on Niuafou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Hakau. A submerged reef near land. Tract on Nomuka island (H).

Hakauata. Reflected reef [hakau, reef; ata, to reflect as a mirror]. Island (H).

Hakauelihu. Reef that is sacred. Reef near Niniva island (H).

Hakaufaha. Reef where fish are driven into a net trap [hakau, reef; faha, to drive fish into a net trap]. Reef west of the southern end of Lifuka island (H).

Hakaufakacitoume. Reef where torches are finished, that is used up [hakau, reef; fakacsi, to finish; toume, the cover of the coconut branch as it fruits from the tree, used when dry as a torch]. Probably night fishing was done at this reef. Reef west of the southern end of Foa island (H).

Hakaufatumanono. Reef where the sail is furled and well tied [hakau, reef; fatu, to furl; manonoo, to be well tied or roped]. Reef in southern part of Haapai group.

Hakaufial. Reef of flowers [hakau, reef; fial, flower]. Reef northwest of the Nomuka group in southern Haapai. Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulvat, landlord.

Hakaufusi. Reef of bananas [hakau, reef; fusi, generic term for bananas]. Reef in southern part of Vavau group.

Hakaufuspala. Reef of rotten bananas [hakau, reef; fusi, generic term for bananas; pala, rotten]. Reef off west coast of Lifuka island (H).

Hakaumaulu. A high reef. Reef partly surrounding Niniva island (H).

Hakauiki. Small reef [hakau, reef; iki, small]. Reef near Niniva island (H).

Hakaukopau. Reef that can be seen at any time [hakau, reef; kopau, that which is certain]. Reef west of Kotu island (H).



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- Hakaulahi.** Large reef [hakau, reef; iahi, large]. Reef near Miama Island (H). 103
- Hakaulale.** The reef beneath the water, that is, not visible [hakau, reef; lalo, below, beneath]. Reef on west side of Lifuka Island (H).
- Hakaulea.** Long reef [hakau, reef; loa, long]. Reef west of Lifuka Island (H).
- Hakaumalia.** Pleasing reef [hakau, reef; malle, pleasing]. Tract near Veitongo, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Hakaumama.** Reef of the world [hakau, reef; mama, world]. God-house on Uliha Island (H). House of the eel god Toke, situated on the tract Fongolongo.
- Hakaumamao.** Distant reef [hakau, reef; mamao, distant]. Large reef north of Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano Island (H). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Hakaumamo.** Reef of the mamo fish [hakau, reef; mamo, a fish]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano Island (H).
- Hakaumataleingale.** Reef off west side of Lifuka Island (H).
- Hakaumatelalona.** Matelalona reef [hakau, reef; matelalona, former name of the governor of Haapai, now called Tupoutoa]. Reef near Lifuka Island (H).
- Hakaumukuku.** Reef of holding the hind part fast in the hand [hakau, reef; mu, the hind part; kuku, to hold fast in the hand]. Reef west of the north end of Lifuka Island (H). The name has a mythical origin. When the twin goddesses Topukulu and Nafanua came swimming from Samoa, they were both in the state of pregnancy. When they came to this place, Topukulu felt labor pains and took hold of herself to restrain the birth of the child. Another tale attributes the name to the goddess Fehuluni, who similarly prevented the escape from her body of a stolen yam which she was bringing to Tonga. See also Ufimoufi and Muikuku. 103 773
- Hakaupool.** Pool reef [hakau, reef; pool, a preparation of food]. Reef off west side of Lifuka Island (H). 103
- Hakausela.** Sarah reef [hakau, reef; sela, Sarah, the late wife of Tupoutoa, the governor of Haapai]. Reef on west side of Lifuka Island (H).
- Hakautapu.** Sacred reef [hakau, reef; tapu, sacred]. Reef off northwestern point of Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Hofoa, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract near Pukotai, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Hakaufotua.** Reef where yams are baked whole [hakau, reef; tofua, to bake yams whole]. Tract on Nomuka Island (H).
- Hakautuanlu.** Reef like the back of a coconut leaf [hakau, reef; tua, back; nlu, coconut]. Reef off west side of Lifuka Island (H).
- Hakaavana.** Sea urchin reef [hakau, reef; vana, sea urchin]. Reef on west side of Lifuka Island (H).
- Hakavonu.** Reef on west side of Lifuka Island (H).
- Hakavulu.** Eight holes cut in tree trunks to hold water [haka, hole cut in tree trunk to hold water; valu, eight]. Tract near Tofisi, village on Vavau Island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- Hakea.** Stranded. Tract near Uliha, village on Uliha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Hakefangota.** To ascend after gathering shellfish [hake, to ascend; fangota, to gather shellfish]. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Ahomee, landlord.
- Hakenoa.** Worthless offspring [hako, offspring; noa, worthless]. Tract near Haatalafala, village on Foa Island (H)—Tui Pelehaka, landlord.
- Hakula.** Sword fish. Place on Tofua Island (H).
- Hala.** Road. Tract near Taca, village on Vavau Island (V).

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- Halakafa.** The road where the coconut trees (suitable for kafa making) grow [hala, road; kafa, cordage made from the coconut husk]. Tract near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Halakaho.** The road where reeds grow [hala, road; kaho, reed]. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Halakakala.** The road where sweet-scented flowers grow [hala, road; kakala, any and every sweet flower]. Tract on Euelki island (T). Also tract near Niu-toua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also reef off east coast of Tongatabu island (T). The name of the reef refers to the people having on garlands at the fishing entertainment. Also tract on Oua island (H).
- Halakaloa.** Road of the kaloa shellfish [hala, road; kaloa, a kind of shellfish]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Halakau.** The road through a grove of trees [hala, road; kau, stem, stalk]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).
- Halakavakava.** Bridge road [halafakavakava, bridge]. Road on Vavau island (V). On or near Mt. Kafoa.
- Halakalemea.** A dun-colored muddy road [hala, road; kela, muddy; mea, a dun color]. Tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulivai, landlord.
- Halakeli.** A dug road [hala, road; keli, to dig]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Halaleva.** To miss accidentally [hala, to miss; leva, accidentally]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Halali.** The road lashed together [hala, road; li, to lash together]. Tract near Uila, village on Uila island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Halaliku.** Weather shore road [hala, road; liku, weather shore]. The road which skirts the southern and eastern shore of Tongatabu island (T).
- Halaloto.** Center road [hala, road; loto, center]. The central east-west road of Tongatabu island (T).
- Halalupe.** Pigeon road [hala, road; lupe, pigeon]. Natural bridge near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T). On south coast.
- Halamakamaka.** A stony road [hala, road; makamaka, stony] Tract on Niuafuon island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.
- Halamanu.** An animal track [hala, road; manu, animal]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.
- Halamate.** Road of death [hala, road; mate, death]. Tract near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also road running the length of Uoleva island (H).
- Halamotua.** The old road [hala, road; motua, old]. Road on Vavau island (V). Formerly called Halanukonuka.
- Halamutu.** Damaged road [hala, road; mutu, maimed, to cut across the warp]. Tract near Matahau, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Halaniu.** An avenue of coconuts [hala, road; niu, coconut]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.
- Halanukonuka.** Road of the sweet-scented shrub [hala, road; nukonuka, a shrub]. Road on Vavau island (V). This road is today called Halamotua.
- Halangama.** Shy animal road [halanga, the road of animals; ma, bashful, modest]. Tract on Tapunga island (V)—Akauola, landlord.
- Halangutungutu.** Road of holes and openings [hala, road; ngutungutu, holes, openings]. Road on Vavau island (V). The road along edge of cliffs on northwest coast.
- Halachikuleo.** Road of Hikuleo [hala, road; o, of; hikuleo, the god of Pulotu, the homeland of the gods]. The name is applied to a deep hole or crevasse on Koloa island (V), through which Maui is reputed to have brought fire from Lolofonua (Underworld).

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- 103 **Hifongakaka.** To climb a landing place [hifonga, landing place; kaka, to climb]. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).
- Hihifo.** The West. District on Tongatabu island (T). Composing the western third of Tongatabu. Also district on Nomuka island (H). Also village on Lifuka island (H). Also district on Vavau island (V). Composing the western part of Vavau island. Also village on Niuatoputapu island (NT).
- Hikihoko.** To remove and arrive at [hiki, to remove; hoko, to arrive at]. Tract near Koloval, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord. Also tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord. Also tract near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veikune, landlord. Also tract in Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Hikiliangi.** To lift in the sky [hiki, to lift; i, in; langi, sky]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Hikuaki.** With an end [hiku, end; aki, with]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).
- Hikuano.** The end of a marsh [hiku, end; ano, marsh]. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Tongata island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Hikuatea.** End of the whitish enclosure [hiku, end; a, enclosure; tea, whitish]. The spelling Hikuaten was also obtained. Tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafu island (NF).
- Hikufononga.** The end of a journey [hiku, end; fononga, journey]. Tract near Haatafu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fullai, landlord. Also tract near Taosa, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Niuafu island (NF)—Fotosili, landlord.
- Hikuhau.** End of a large bone needle [hiku, end; hau, a large bone needle]. Tract near Valpoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Hikuika.** The tail of a fish [hiku, end; ika, fish]. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).
- Hikulangi.** The end of the sky [hiku, end; langi, sky]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Hikulata.** The point of the lata shrub [hiku, the point of a thing; lata, shrub]. Tract near Niotoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Hikumoko.** The tail of the gecko [hiku, end; moko, gecko]. Tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).
- 773 **Hikunise.** To make an end. Place on Tongatabu island (T). Land in central Tongatabu where hero Muni is said to have thrown coconuts and other trees in a contest with the hero Pungalotohoa. Probably near Malapo.
- Hikuniu.** The point of a coconut tree; the point of the coconut tree [hiku, point, end; niu, coconut tree]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Koloval—Ata, landlord, Pea—Lavaka, landlord, and Fatumu. Also tract on Kotu island (H). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island—Luani, landlord.
- Hikunonofa.** The end of dwelling together [hiku, end; nonofa, to dwell together]. Tract near Vaimalo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Hikuene.** Sandy point [hiku, point; ene, sand]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).
- Hikupapa.** The tail of the papa fish [hiku, end; papa, a kind of a fish]. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V).
- Hikutamoi.** To strike the end of the orange tree [hiku, end; ta, to strike; moi, orange]. Peninsula or isthmus on Utungake island (V). The north end of Utungake island or else the isthmus connecting the north end with main island.

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- Velitongo**, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract on Okoa island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also village on Koloa island (V). Also tract on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Tafeuni, Feletoa, and Holonga. 103
- Holo**. Comfortable, refreshing. Tract near Obonus, village on Eua island (T). Also tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Pea—Lavaka, landlord; Malapo—Pangia, landlord; Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord; Kolonga—Nuku, landlord, and Fusamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord. Also tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Holoangiangi**. To dry with a piece of tapa [holo, to dry; angiangi, a piece of tapa]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Valpoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Holohau**. To move in quick succession and arrive [holo, to move in quick succession; hau, to arrive]. Cemetery near Makave, village on Vavau island (V).
- Holohiufi**. To fall with the yam [holo, to fall; i, with; ufi, yam]. Probably so named from the myth which states that the material of this hill, together with the first yam, was poured down from heaven. A hill on shore east of Maufanga village on Tongatabu island (T); also called Popua hill on account of surrounding tract Popua. [773]
- Hololafo**. To rub off the spray [holo, to rub off; afu, spray]. Tract near Valpoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract near Petani, village on Niuafu island (NF).
- Hololanga**. The place of demolition [holo, to demolish; anga, place]. Tract near Vaimalo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Holokakala**. The scented towel [holo, towel; kakala, sweet smelling flowers]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Holonga**. A row. Tracts in and near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Nukuleka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V). Also village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Niuafu island (NF).
- Holongalalo**. Lower Holonga [lalo, below, beneath]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract on Niuafu island (NF).
- Holongauta**. Inland Holonga [uta, inland]. Tract near Niuafu island (NF).
- Holooli**. Letting a chain or rope run out to the end. Tract on Ofolanga island (H).
- Holopeka**. Flying foxes passing by [holo, to move in quick succession; peka, flying fox]. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also village on Lifuka island (H). Also hill near Nolafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Holotaeafe**. Passing by in quick succession without turning [holo, to pass by in quick succession; tae, without; afe, to turn]. Tract on Fonofua island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Holotapu**. Sacred towel [holo, towel; tapu, sacred]. Place on Eua island (T). At this place a tapa towel fell from the head of the corpse of Tui Tonga Tui-tatui as it was being carried by his half-brother Fasilapule. Hence the name. [773]  
See also Fautapu, Motutapu, and Moungetapu.
- Homatau**. Your fish hook [ho, your; matau, fish hook]. Northeast promontory of Nomuka island (H). The name is probably a misspelling of Houmatau.
- Honge**. Famine. Tract on Nomuka island (H).
- Hongea**. To be short of food. Tract near Kolovai, village on Tangatabu island. (T)—Ate, landlord. Also tract near Fakakakal, village on Haano island (H).

- 103 Hungalau. Turned towards the conversation [hunga, turned towards; lau, conversation]. Tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Hungalulu. Turned towards the sugar cane [hunga, turned towards; lulu, a kind of sugar cane]. Tract near Ahau, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.
- Hunganga. The place turned towards [hunga, turned towards; nga, place]. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord. Also fortress gate near Matafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T). South-west-by-south gate of fortress of Hula. Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Hungatonga. Turned towards Tongatabu [hunga, turned towards; Tonga, Tongatabu island]. An island of western volcanic chain, lying northwest of Tongatabu island.
- Hutau. Suing for mercy in war [hu, the Tongan act of suing for mercy; tau, war]. Tract near Foui, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord.
- Ifiholo. Refreshing shade of the "chestnut" tree [ifi, "chestnut" tree (*Inocarpus edulis*); holo, refreshing]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- ii. The pain or sensation of hunger. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Malupo, landlord.
- ikakula. Red fish [ika, fish; kula, red]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).
- ikalahi. Large fish [ika, fish; lahi, large]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).
- ikapongipongi. Morning fish [ika, fish; pongipongi, morning]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Utui, village on Vavau island (V)—Ahomee, landlord. Also tract near Mataika, village on Vavau island (V).
- 11a. A mark, a spot on the body. One of the two rocks at a place called Palalafa, in the lagoon of Tongatabu island (T). The other rock is called Hava. Mythology states that they were once two women who were transformed into stones.
- 11b. Utopia. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- isilei. Biblical name—Israel. Tract on Moungaone island (H).
- isipite. Egypt. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Kolovai—Ata, landlord, Matafonua—Tui Vakano, landlord, Fatal, and Haateiho—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- itakongo. Displeasure with the mangrove trees [ita, displeasure; i, with; tongo, mangrove (*Rhizophora*)]. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- italoi. Angry Har [ita, anger; loi, Har]. Tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- iteni. Eden. Two tracts in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.
- itui. In the ui coconut [i, in; ui, the name of one kind of coconut]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.
- Kafae. A fisherman utters this word when a shark is caught, as a sign that the shark is ready to be killed. Tract near Kolomaila, village on Eua island (T).
- Kafakala. A coconut for chiefs. Tract near Kotongo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).



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[821] **Kalipa**. First quarter of the moon. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Kallial**. To eject phlegm from the throat with force [ka, to force phlegm from the throat; lial, to throw with force]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- [773] **Kaloafu**. To avoid danger by entering the ocean spray [kalo, to avoid danger; afu, the spray or mist of the sea when breaking upon the rocks]. One of two rocks on coast of Hihifo district, Tongatabu island (T). The other rock is Teuhle. The name Kaloafu appears to refer to the fleeing of two people. Kaloafu and Teuhle, from a pursuing eel. They fled into the sea and became rocks.
- Kaloaleva**. When the wind does not change its position for sometime. Tract near Tokomololo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.
- Kelou**. To vociferate. Tract near Veltongo, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Kalu**. To cut or clean off all excrescence and dirt. Tract near Uiba, village on Uiba island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Kamata**. The tasting of any food. Tract near Valpoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Kamea**. Although attending to [ka, although; mea, to attend to]. Tracts in and near Fuaamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Niuafuou island (NF).
- Kanaaho**. Day of cleaning or rubbing canoes with the soft stone kana found on the seashore [kana, a soft stone on the seashore, used for rubbing canoes; aho, day]. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord.
- Kanakana**. Eating. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Vaini—Maafu, landlord, Lavengatonga, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord.
- Kanali**. Canal. Tract near Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Kanatea**. To rub until whitish [kanal, to rub; tea, whitish]. Island (T)—Velkune, landlord. Situated in lagoon of Tongatabu.
- [773] **Kanivatu**. A mythical island in Pulu, where dwelt an enormous bird called Kanivatu.
- Kanokano**. Fleishy. Tract on Haano island (H).
- Kanokupolu**. Flesh of Upolu [kano, flesh; kupolu, Upolu island, Samoa]. Village on Tongatabu island (T). It is now counted as the southern portion of Nelafu, which it adjoins.
- Kanome**. Well near Koulo, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Kanume**. Name of a nut tree. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Kanumi**. Although creased [ka, although; numi, to crease]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).
- Kao**. K(oe)ao, the cloud. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also island (H). A lofty island in the western volcanic chain, 3380 feet high. Also tract on Kotu island (H).
- Kapa**. The corners and edges of anything. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also island (V).
- Kapaatamai**. Child trying to crawl to meet his father [kapa, to try to crawl; a, to meet; tamai, father]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).
- Kapakatal**. Tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.
- Kapala**. The corners and edges of a sail [kapa, the corners and edges of anything; la, a sail]. Tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord. Also tract in Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near



- 103 Kitekihaamea. Rock on Eua Island (T). A great rock "like an axe" said formerly to have stood in Eua. The name means "visible to Samoa." The Samoans were displeased at the visibility of this rock from Samoa. They therefore came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which it was easy for the people to secure pieces from which to make axes. Previous to this stone axes had not been made in Eua. The base of this rock is said to be visible on the weather shore. The Tongan name for the rock, which is hard, is toamakahunu. It is described as similar to rock from Tofua and Kao, two volcanic islands, and is said to be of various colors: black, white, yellow, and red.
- [173] Kito. Island (H).
- [823] Kitu. Island (V).
- Klu. The plover (*Charadrius fulvus*). Tract near Fataulus, village on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Klumoeveka. Plover and rail [klu, plover, (*Charadrius fulvus*); moe, and; veka, rail (*Rallus pectoralis*)]. Tract on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Klutaki. To lead in running [klu, to run; taki, to lead]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu Island (V).
- Kivikivi. The name of a shellfish. Tract near Fotua, village on Foa Island (H) —Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Koahokaimoa. The day of eating chicken [ko, prefix; aho, day; kai, to eat; moa, chicken]. Rock (T). Formerly in entrance of lagoon of Tongatabu Island, on west side of Nukunukumotu Island.
- Koakele. Muddy foam [koa, froth, foam; kele, muddy]. Tract near Leimatus, village on Vavau Island (V)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Koane. Corn, grain. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Koefa. The pandanus [koe, the; fa, pandanus]. Tract near Houma, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Koekoli. The koll tree [koe, the; koll, a tree]. Tract near Haakio, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Koemel. The breadfruit [koe, the; mel, breadfruit]. Tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau Island (V)—Afu Haalaufull, landlord.
- Koesi. The si shrub [koe, the; si, a shrub]. Tract near Taos, village on Vavau (V).
- Koetou. The tou tree [koe, the; tou, a kind of tree]. Tract in Lotofoa, village on Foa Island (H).
- [173] Kofakahaangatoma. The place where she showed off [ko, the; fakahaanga, place; toma, to show off]. Place (H). A place in the Ahanga ford from Lifuka to Uoleva where the daughter of Matauvave, the Tui Tonga's steward in Haapai, slipped and hurt herself. Hence the name.
- Kofateleasili. Where there is a small dreary passage [kofas, where; telea, dreary passage; sili, small]. Tract on Kao Island (H).
- Kofe. Bamboo. Tract near Obonus, village on Eua Island (T). Also tracts near villages on Tongatabu Island (T): near Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, Haateiho—Tui Haateiho, landlord, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, and Hamula—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau Island (V)—Afu Haalaufull, landlord.
- Kofinekaheamanu. The woman with a necklace for toothache [ko, the; fina, woman; kahoa, necklace; manu, toothache]. Rock (T). Rock formerly in entrance to lagoon of Tongatabu, on west side of Nukunukumotu Island.
- Kofutoo. To wrap and carry in the hand [kofu, to wrap; too, to carry in the hand]. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Kohekoli. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau Island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- [173] Koli. To scratch. Place on Eua Island (T), where mythology says Maui thrust a stick into the ground.

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- Kolopelu. Village of the banana-leaf drinking cups [kolo, village; pelu, a drinking cup made from a banana leaf]. Tract near Koloval, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.
- Kolotahi. Sea village [kolo, village; tahi, sea]. Tract and islet near Vaimalo, village on Vavau island (V)—Velkune, landlord.
- Kolotau. War village [kolo, village or fortress; tau, war]. Tract on Ovaka island (V). Also tract on Taunga island (V)—Akauola, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).
- Koloteeki. Fortress of Teeki [kolo, fortress; teeki, snipe excrement]. Fortress near Teeki, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Kolotofua. Village where they bake the yams whole [kolo, village; tofua, to bake yams whole]. Tract on Niuatofu island (NF).
- Kolotoka. Submissive village [kolo, village; toka, submissive]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).
- Kolotolu. Three villages [kolo, village; tolu, three]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Kolotongo. Mangrove village [kolo, village; tongo, mangrove]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. See Koloatongo.
- Koloua. Two villages [kolo, village; ua, two]. Village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Nukuslofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract in Veltongo, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Kolouta. Inland village [kolo, village; uta, inland]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also promontory on Vavau island (V). In landlocked harbor; faces island of Kolotahi.
- Koloutakape. Village of the kape shore [kolo, village; uta, shore; kape, a plant]. Cliff on Eua island (T). So named because here a man named Tuutaki skillfully spread kape (*Arum costatum*) leaves so as to hide the edge of the precipice. Then by appearing to jump aimlessly about himself, he decoyed his wife's relatives over the cliff. For sequel, see Veefefe, Utukape.
- Koloval. Water village [kolo, village; vai, water]. Village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract and fortress near Teeki, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Motuapuaka, landlord.
- Kolukalu. Jelly fish. Tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V)—Lauaki, landlord.
- Komo. To suck. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).
- Konga. A piece, a plot, a fragment. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Havelu, Nukualofa, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Nukunukumotu island (T). Also tract on Matuku island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Malupo, landlord.
- Kongaapi. Piece of a tract [konga, piece; api, tract]. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).
- Kongalota. Probably Kongaloto, middle part [konga, part; loto, middle]. Island (H).
- Kopoka. The castration [ko, the; poka, to castrate]. Tract near Kolomalie, village on Eua island (T).
- Kotakotaata. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Kotekota. To speak a foreign tongue. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Kotofalefo. Collection of wash houses [koto, collection; fale, house; fo, to wash clothes]. See next name; one is a misspelling. Tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

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- lage on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord. Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H). Also island (V). Also tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufulu, landlord. 103
- Lautu. Furled sail [la, sail; utu, to gather in]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Lauua. Two leaves [lau, leaf; ua, two]. Tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Tuanuku—Ulukalala, landlord, Longomapu—Veikune, landlord, and Nelafu.
- Lavaho. Shark bait [lava, a bait for fish; aho, a kind of shark]. Tract near Lakepa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lasike, landlord. Also tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord.
- Lavaki. A traitor. Tract on Eueiki island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufulu, landlord.
- Lavakiuta. Inland Lavaki [uta, inland]. Tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufulu, landlord.
- Lavatoko. To accomplish preparations on a large scale [lava, to accomplish; toko, to make preparations on a large scale]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Lavatuutolu. To conquer three appearing as spirits [lava, to conquer; tuu, to appear as a spirit; tolu, three]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Laveamata. To bite the face [laves, to bite; mata, face]. Tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V).
- Lavelave. To keep to leeward in steering a boat. Tract near Haatelho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haatelho, landlord.
- Lavenga. The part where anything has struck or touched. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulival, landlord.
- Lavengahau. The striking of an arrow [lave, to strike the mark; ngahau, arrow]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Tefsi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord. Also tract near Ngaakau, village on Vavau island (V).
- Lavengatonga. The place struck against by Tonga, in the sense of relied upon for food [lavenga, any part or place struck against; tonga, Tongatabu]. Village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Lavilavi. A brown pig with black or dark stripes. Tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V).
- Leasekane. Sound of the can [lea, sound; ae, of the; kane, can, bucket]. Tract in Falevai, village on Kapa island (V).
- Leasemotuku. Voice of the heron [lea, voice; ae, of the; motuku, heron (*Ardea sacra*)]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Leasepuleka. The squeak of the pulley [lea, voice, sound; ae, of the; puleka, pulley]. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Leasetohi. The word of the book [lea, speech, language; ae, of the; tohi, book]. Tract in Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Leafulva. The call of the flycatcher [lea, speech; a, of; fulva, an insectivorous bird (*Myiolestes helnei*)]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).
- Leatevolo. The speech of the devil [lea, speech; a, of; tevolo, devil]. Tract in Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Lefeifevalu. A mound 21 feet high, on western side of Eua island (T), between Kolomalle and Tufuval. Reputed to have been the home of chiefly virgin (taupoou), or to be the virgin herself now transformed into a mound, as are 173

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her admirers Ponahiva and Fasikiato. The name Lefelegevalu is said to refer to the lady having eight (valu) privates.

Leflopopoto. Butterflies reconciled after a quarrel [leflo, butterfly; popoto, to be reconciled after a quarrel]. Rock on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.

Lefoe. Steering a boat off the wind. Tract near Lavengatonga, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Laha. The title of the Tui Tonga's carpenter. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

Lei. Whale's tooth, ivory. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Leimatua. A game with the hands in which whale's teeth are used [lei whale's tooth; matua, a game with the hands]. Tract in Hautu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Matafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also village on Vavau island (V).

Leitafe. Ivory dropping [lei, ivory, whale's tooth; tafe, to drop, to pour]. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).

Leka. Short. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Taao, village on Vavau island (V).

Leke. A private room. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.

Lekefanga. A landing place in a bay. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Lekeleka. Short private room [leke, private room; leka, short]. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also island (H). Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H). Also tract near Fakakakal, village on Haano island (H). Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also island (V).

Lekileki. Name of a tree. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract on Ofu island (V).

Lekutu. To drive lice [le, to drive; kutu, louse]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).

Lele. A kind of sugar cane. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Lelea. Driven by the wind. Tract in Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Leleaina. Red-eyed from laughing [lelea, red, sore, applied to the eyes; a, of; ina, to laugh]. Tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafu island (NF).

Lelealulu. The run of the owl [lele, run; a, of; lulu, owl]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract on Taunga island (V)—Akauola, landlord.

Leleifakamuli. Pleasant to act as a stranger [lelei, pleasant; fakamuli, to act as a stranger]. Tract near Sapaata, village on Niuafu island (NF).

Leleikovi. Good and bad [lelei, good; kovi, bad]. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Leleipouli. To run in the darkness [lele, to run; i, in; pouli, darkness]. Tract on Niuafu island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Leleaga. Jeopardy. Cliff on Eua island (T). A cliff in Eua over which Maui Kikial cast his great digging stick into the sea after making the Matalangaamaui. The digging stick struck the edge of the cliff making a deep groove and carrying the earth with it into the sea. Also tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract near Fusamotu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

Lemani. Lemon. Tract in Hofoa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

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- Lluangkauaihi.** A place where the whistling birds return [liu, to return; anga, habit, position, where anything takes place; kau, plural; aliki, a whistling sound]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord. 103
- Loa.** Name of a plant, the fruit of which was used as a cosmetic to tint the face a red color before going to war. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haatelho, landlord.
- Loafa.** To besmear the body with pandanus juice(?) [loa, to besmear the body; fa, pandanus]. Tract near Felemea, village on Uiha island (H).
- Loamanu.** Tomb near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Malapo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Luani, landlord. Also four royal tombs of the Tui Haatakalaua near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). The names of three were ascertained: Langifalepulemaalo, Langifale-tuipapal, Langiloamanu. 764
- Loanoa.** To besmear the body at random [loa, to besmear the body; noa, random]. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Lofanitani.** This frigate bird stained [lofa, frigate bird (Fregata aquila); ni, this; tani, to be stained]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Lofanga.** Many landing places [lo, many; fanga, landing place]. Island (H). Also tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V). Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Lofia.** A volcano. Volcano on Tofua island (H).
- Lohifo.** Many offered in sacrifice [lo, many; hifo, to offer in sacrifice]. Tract near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veikune, landlord. Also tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Loholohoa.** To beat with the thick stem of the branch on which coconuts grow. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Lolamoeake.** Surfeited in eating and convalescent [lola, surfeited; moe, and; ake, convalescent]. Tract near Valmalo, village on Vavau island (V).
- Loka.** A rough or tempestuous sea. Tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Lokavallahi.** Rough large water [loka, rough; val, water; lahi, large]. Crater lake on Tofua island (H).
- Lokes.** Under the shade of the breadfruit tree [lo, short of lolo in the shade; kea, a species of breadfruit]. Tract near Fakakakal, village on Haano island (H)—Fakakakal, landlord.
- Lekial.** A room made of al wood [loki, room; al, name of a tree which bears small nuts]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Lokifue.** A room of fue vine [loki room; fue, a climbing plant]. Tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Lokilau.** A room full of leaves [loki, room; lau, leaves]. Tract on Ovaka island (V).
- Loko.** Very, in a great degree. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). This tract consists of an islet.
- Lokofa.** To feel after anything as one blind, very carefully [loko, very, in great degree; fa, to feel after anything, as one blind feels his way]. Tract and cave near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T). A cave with running water, in which the mullet were supposed to have been imprisoned, on Nuku, an islet in the great lagoon of Tongatabu near Nukuhitulu. This stream is said to connect with another called Lokupo. Compare myth concerning imprisoned mullet. 773

\* Gifford, E. W., Tongan Myths and Tales; Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bul. 8, 1923. (113)



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leloa, village on Foa Island (H)—Tuita, landlord. Also tract near Kapa, village on Kapa Island (V). Also tract near Nuapapu, village on Nuapapu Island (V). Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu Island (V). Also tract near Koloa, village on Koloa Island (V). Also tracts near villages on Vavau Island (V): near Taca, Nefafu, Makave—Tui Aftu, landlord, Mataka, Houma, Tafuuni, and Haalaufu—Afu Haalaufu, landlord. Tract near Vapo, village on Niuatoputapu Island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafou Island (NF).

Luchaka. A hole cut in the trunk of a tree for holding rain water. Tract near Haalaufu, village on Vavau Island (V)—Afu Haalaufu, landlord.

Luolval. A water hole. Tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafou Island (NF).

Luokitoki. Hole for the toki shellfish [luo, hole; ki, for; toki, shellfish]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua Island (T).

Luotahi. A large hole [luo, hole; tahi, large]. Tract on Niuafou Island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.

Luoluovehi. [Luoluo, full of holes or pits]. Tract on Haaveva Island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

Luotahi. Sea hole [luo, hole; tahi, sea]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa Island (V).

Luotakulalo. To designate a hole below [luo, hole; taku, to designate; lalo, below]. Tract on Niuafou Island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

Luovao. A hole in the bush [luo, hole; vao, bush, woods]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu Island (V).

Luovi. Hole in a vi tree [luo, hole; vi, a tree (*Spondias dulcis*)]. Tract near Longomapu, village on Vavau Island (V)—Velkune, landlord.

Lupe. The pigeon (*Carpophaga pacifica*). Tract near Utiha, village on Utiha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Lupeakaungalla. Suitable tree for pigeons [lupe, pigeon; aku, tree; ngali, suitable]. Tract near Matamaka, village on Nuapapu Island (V).

Lupemu. A pigeon calling to its mate. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Lusia. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua Island (T). Also tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Mataka, village on Vavau Island (V).

Lutu. To cause a sound by striking in the water. Tract on Nomuka Island (H).

Lutueki. The plunge of the white tern after fish in the sea [lutu, to cause a sound by striking in the water; ekiaki, white tern (*Gygis alba*)]. Island (H).

Maacatanu. Ashamed of the burial [ma, to be ashamed; ae, the; a, of; tanu, burial]. Stream on Eua (?) Island (T). A stream of water said to have originated from water dripping from wet mat worn by Tui Haatala, a disembodied human spirit, when he hung it on a tree.

Maafu. The burning of a god-house. Tract on Hunga Island (V)—Fulival, landlord.

Maakeake. Capable of convalescing [ma, capable of; akeake, convalescent]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu Island (V).

Maalaala. Cleared of weeds and rubbish. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Ahomee, landlord.

Maalafoha. Plantation of large yams [maala, plantation of yams; foha, large, applied to yams]. Tract near Mangia, village on Vavau Island (V).

Maalafova. A garden forthwith [maala, garden; leva, forthwith]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.

Maalamua. A garden formerly [maala, garden; mua, formerly]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

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- Makasilliva.** A silver stone [maka, stone; silliva, silver]. Tract near Maufanga, 103 village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.
- Makasio.** A shell fish. Tract near Nefafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Makatangi.** Crying rock [maka, rock; tangi, to cry]. Reef on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.
- Makatanoa.** The rock of forwarning [maka, rock; tanoa, to forewarn]. Stone on Vavau island (V). On side of road near mound Tofaki, on or near Mt. Kafoa.
- Makatapunimatapa.** Sealed with a stone door [maka, stone; tapuni, to close, to seal; matapa, door]. Cemetery on Late island (V).
- Makatata.** Covered stone [maka, stone; tata, to cover]. Tract near Fangale-ounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord.
- Makatautau.** Hanging stone [maka, stone; tautau, to hang]. Beach on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore.
- Makatefua.** Assembled stones [maka, stone; tefua, to assemble]. Stones on the weather shore of Tongatabu island (T). Mythology states that these stones [773] were thrown by Maui at the great bird Moa as it flew from Eua island.
- Makateka.** A rolling stone [maka, stone; teka, to roll]. Tract on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord.
- Makatemate.** Shame of death at hands of a friend among the enemy. Puko tree near Feletoa, village on Vavau island (V).
- Makatoa.** Courageous stone [maka, stone; toa, courageous]. Tract near Ahau, village on Niuafu island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.
- Makatuilohu.** Stone of Tuitulohu [maka, stone; tuitulohu, a chief]. A stone [764] in the royal tomb Langimau, near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Makatukia.** Soft stone [maka, stone; tukia, soft]. Tract near Hamula, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Makatukinga.** A stone where anything is beaten [maka, stone; tuki, to strike, to drub; nga, place]. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.
- Makatu.** Steady, immovable, firm. Tract near Matahau, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Makatuutolu.** Three stones standing together [maka, stone; tuu, to stand; tolu, three]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- Makau.** Lazy, indolent. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Makauli.** A dirty rock [maka, rock; uli, dirty]. Tract near Petani, village on Niuafu island (NF).
- Makaunga.** The sheltering rock [maka, rock; unga, to be sheltered]. Tract near Ohonusa, village on Eua island (T). Also village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Talafoou, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lauaki, landlord. Also tract on Niuafu island (NF).
- Makavaecatangitau.** Stone of Vaea Tangitau [maka, stone; vaea, a chief; tangi, to cry for; tau, war or fighting]. Stone near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). A huge stone, evidently part of a royal tomb, perhaps of Langi- [764] tamatou, which it follows in an informant's list of royal tombs.
- Makave.** To swing high; anyone who passes at a great distance. Tract on Haateva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Uiba, village on Uiba island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H). Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Aftu, landlord. Also village (V).
- Makavelu.** Probably misspelling of Makavelo, the throwing stone [maka, stone; velo, to throw]. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafu island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

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- Malapule.** The governing evil (death) [mala, evil; pule, to govern]. Tract near 103  
Leimatua, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Malata.** A main shark struck [mala, a kind of shark; ta, to strike]. Tract on  
Matuku island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Feleton, village  
on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Malavelato.** Perhaps Malaveloto; to be fixed in the mind [malave, to be fixed  
or fastened; loto, the mind]. Tract near Taou, village on Vavau island (V).
- Maleatuli.** A followed track [malea, a track, footmarks; tuli, to chase, to pur-  
sue]. Tract near Abau, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Malekini.** Name of a kind of yam. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho,  
landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Malekosi.** Name of a tree. Tract near Foul, village on Tongatabu island (T)—  
Vahal, landlord.
- Malele.** To incline to, to lean. Tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island  
(V)—Afu Haalaufuli, landlord.
- Malelenga.** The shallow passage. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu  
island (T)—Nuku, landlord.
- Malepone.** Melbourne. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Mallelaungutu.** To be pleased with the talk of the mouth [malle, to be pleased;  
lau, talk; ngutu, mouth]. Tract on Niuafou island (NF).
- Malletala.** To tell pleasingly [malle, pleasing; tala, to tell]. Tract near Fakaka-  
kai, village on Haano island (H).
- Malifu.** Quickened. Streamlet on Tongatabu island (T). Near Mua (Tataka-  
motonga and Lapaha).
- Mallia.** Old tobacco leaf. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Malimail.** To smile. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, land-  
lord. Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana,  
landlord. Also tract near Taou, village on Vavau island (V).
- Malimailoto.** To smile in the mind [malimail, to smile; loto, the mind]. Stream  
near Pangai, village on Eua island (T). A small, clear, mirror-like stream 776  
said to have belonged to the god Tui Haafakafanua. A man named Vainuku, 773  
who dwelt beside it, was made very handsome by the god. Near Vainuku's  
house was a mirror (haka), a receptacle containing water from the stream.  
The mirror was named Katai.
- Mallina.** Unsettled, not fixed, here and there and everywhere. Tract in  
Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also island (T). In the poem 539  
on page 8, "the falling and rising of Mallina when Tonga stands facing the  
wind" refers to the island as seen from the deck of a vessel when the rising  
and falling waves alternately reveal and hide the island from view.
- Malisa.** Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Malosa.** Many winners of games. Tract near Alaki, village on Tongatabu island  
(T)—Tui Pelehake, landlord.
- Malofafa.** An old thing. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Maloku.** Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract and  
district near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Holopeka,  
village on Lifuka island (H).
- Malole.** The name of a tree. Tract near Fafefa, village on Tongatabu island  
(T)—Veehala, landlord. Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, land-  
lord. Also tract on Tofua island (H).
- Maloloi.** Resting, quiescent. Tract on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.
- Malu.** Mild, milder applied to the wind. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tonga-  
tabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord. Also tract on Niuafou island (NF).

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**Macpoopo.** Shut, compact, close. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ahomee, landlord. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Taao, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Nuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

**Mapa.** Name of a tree. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Haakili, Napua, Houma—Vaea, landlord, Haakame, Maufanga, and Folaia. Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V).

**Mapafisi.** Flowering mapo tree [mapa, a tree; fisi, to flower]. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

**Mapelumoeiau.** One who bows and speaks at the same time [mapelu, to bend, to bow; moe, and; iau, to speak, to talk]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Mapitoo.** Tract in Taao, village on Vavau island (V).

**Mapo.** Vain boasting. Tract on Nuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord.

**Mapuateiua.** Tract near Ahau, village on Niuatoo island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.

**Mapuatonga.** To whistle of Tonga [mapu, to whistle; a, of; tonga, Tonga].

Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Makaunga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

**Mapuhanga.** To whistle and to face [mapu, to whistle; hanga, to face]. Tract near Kolomalle, village on Eua island (T). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Toula, village on Vavau island (V).

**Mapula.** To whistle up the sail [mapu, to whistle; la, sail]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Masel.** Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Masi.** Name of a tree. Tract near Houma, village on Eua island (T). Also north gate of fortress Koloteeki, near Teeki, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Nukuhitulu, Hamula—Pangia, landlord, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Kotu island (H). Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract in Falevai, village on Kapa island (V).

**Masia.** Tract in Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V).

**Masika.** To flash along. Tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Masikona.** A kind of tree. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).

**Masilia.** Bamboo used as a fishing rod. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Masilamea.** To attend to the bamboo fishing rod [masila, a bamboo used as a fishing rod; mea, to attend to]. Village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also graveyard on Lifuka island (H). On weather shore. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V)—Lauaki, landlord. Also tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).

**Masivaleva.** Immediate poverty [masiva, poverty; leva, immediate]. Tract near Kalaau, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Mataaho.** Eye of day [mata, eye; aho, day]. Island in great lagoon of Tongatabu island (T). So named in connection with the neighboring island of Talakite. Talakite means "white tern saw" in reference to the discovery of the sleeping pair. Tangaloa Elitumapua and Ilaheva, by the white tern. This occurred after day had dawned, so the name Mataaho was applied to the second

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island and refers to the sun, the "eye of day." Also tract on Nomuka island (H). Said to be a new name in Nomuka, after a king's place in Uihā island. Also tract near Uihā, village on Uihā island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also village on Niuafuon island (NF).

Mataangavaka. A point where boats are sighted [mataanga, a view point; vaka, boat]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Mataano. Edge of a marsh [mata, edge; ano, marsh]. Tract near Havelu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fielakepa, landlord. Also tract near Manuka, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Mataau. Old war club [mata, a war club; au, old]. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Felemea, village on Uihā island (H).

Matafele. Scattered mesh [mata, mesh; fele, to be scattered]. Tract in Malapo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Matafonua. Coast. Tract near Navutoka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also village on Tongatabu island (T).

Matafota. Massaged appearance [mata, appearance; fota, to massage]. A place in the sea between Eua and Tongatabu noted for its roughness.

Matafulla. Countenance covered over with rings burnt in the skin [mata, countenance; fulla, to be covered over with rings burnt in the skin]. Tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufull, landlord.

Matahou. Eyes of the ruler [mata, eyes; hau, the reigning prince]. Tract near Kolomailo, village on Eua island (T). Also village and tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Hofoa, Alaki—Tui Pelehake, landlord, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, Kolonga—Nuku, landlord, Fatumu, Haasini, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V).

Matahauuta. Inland Matahau [uta, inland]. Tract near Fafefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord.

Matahila. Eyes looking askant [mata, eyes; hila, to look askant]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.

Matahina. White edge [mata, edge; hina, white]. Tract near Lolotelle, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V). Also rock between Vavau and Niue islands.

Matahiva. Nine eyes [mata, eyes; hiva, nine]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. A well or spring on this tract was sacred to the gods Tonu and Lahe.

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Matahoata. Yellow face [mata, face; hoata, yellow]. Tract near Nukuleka, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.

Matahunga. Face turned towards [mata, face; hunga, turned towards]. Promontory on Hunga island (V). Eastern end of island.

Mataifisi. To be seen in flower [mata, to be seen; i, in; fisi, to flower]. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

Mataika. Fish eyes [mata, eyes; ika, fish]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also village on Vavau island (V).

Mataila. Obstinate. Tract near Teeklu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Motu-apuaka, landlord.

Mataimanuka. A clever one murdered [matai, a clever one; manuka, to murder, applied to chiefs]. Place on Tongatabu island (T). On weather shore.

Mataitao. Clever in baking [matai, clever; tao, to bake]. Tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luanl, landlord.

Matakaiā. Hill on Nomuka island (H).

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- Matakeha. Different, strange in appearance. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Fatumu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Mua, village on Niuafoou island (NF). 103
- Matakiano. To spy in a marsh [matakī, to spy; ano, a marsh]. Tract on Nomuka island (H).
- Matakiata. To be seen at dawn [mata, to be seen; kī, at; ata, dawn]. Place on Eua island (T). The place where the diviner (tongafisi) Hama lived within the tract Halahu. From this place he is reputed to have made observations which led to the discovery of Ata (Pylstaart) island, the most southerly land of the Tongan archipelago. Also tract in Folaia, village on Tongatabu island (T). [73]
- Matakiena. That traitor [matakī, traitor; ena, that]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Matakieu. The edge towards Eua [mata, edge; kī, towards; eua, the island of Eua]. Place on southeastern shore of Tongatabu island (T).
- Matakifai. The edge towards Fiji [mata, edge; kī, towards; fai, Fiji]. Tract near Fouli, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord. Also tract on Hunga island (V)—Fulival, landlord.
- Matakifoa. The edge towards Foa [mata, edge; kī, towards; foa, Foa island]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Matakifotola. The edge towards Fotola [mata, edge; kī, towards]. Tract near Matala, village on Vavau island (V).
- Matakifotula. The edge towards Fotula [mata, edge; kī, towards]. Tract in Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Matakihaamo. The edge towards Samoa [mata, edge; kī, towards; haamo, Samoa]. Tract near Leimatusa, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Matakihunga. The edge towards Hunga [mata, edge; kī, towards; hunga, Hunga island, Vavau group]. Tract on Hunga island (V). Also tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Matakilangi. The edge towards the sky [mata, edge; kī, towards; langi, sky]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Matakiiaotala. The edge towards Laotala [mata, edge; kī, towards]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Matakiikili. Boundary of black pebbles [mata, boundary; kilikili, small black pebbles used to decorate graves]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Haatafu, Kolovai—Ata, landlord, and Malapo—Luani, landlord.
- Matakimango. Edge towards Mango [mata, edge; kī, towards; mango, Mango island, Haapai group]. Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord. Also tract on Tungua island (H).
- Mataki moana. Edge towards the ocean [mata, edge; kī, towards; moana, ocean]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Matakinilua. Edge towards Niua [mata, edge; kī, towards; niua, Niuatoputapu island]. Tract on Fonofua island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also northernmost headland of Vavau island (V).
- Matakiofu. Edge towards Ofu [mata, edge; kī, towards; ofu, Ofu island, Vavau group]. Tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.
- Matakiono. Edge towards Ono [mata, edge; kī, towards; ono, a tract in Vavau island]. Tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.
- Matakitau. War spy [matakī, spy; tau, war]. Fortress on Eua island (T). A fortified elevation more than 1000 feet above sea level, on southeastern part of Eua; said to have been fortified by hero Tuutaki. [773] [712]



- 103 **Matakitonga.** Edge towards Tonga [mata, edge; ki, towards; tonga, Tongatabu island]. Tract on Euelki island (T). Also tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Matuku island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Matakuiha.** Edge towards Uiha [mata, edge; ki, towards; uiha, Uiha island, Haapai group]. Tract near Ahau, village on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord.
- Matakiuvea.** Edge towards Wallis island [mata, edge; ki, towards; uvea, Wallis island]. Tract on Tafahi island (NT).
- Matakiyaha.** Edge towards the open sea [mata, edge; ki, towards; yaha, space at sea]. Tract on Moungaone island (H). Also tract on Ovaka island (V).
- Matalaa.** Sun face [mata, face; aa, sun]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord. Also tract near Multoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord. Also tract on Ofu island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord. Also tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V)—Lauaki, landlord. Also tract near Tafeuni, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Mus, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Matalanga.** The spot where the earth is raised for digging and setting the yams. Tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord. The name is also applied to perpendicular holes or caves in the coral bed rock near Utungake.
- [773] **Matalangamaul.** Maul's spot where the earth is raised for digging and setting the yams [matalanga (see preceding; maul, the demigod)]. A large hole near Haatua (Kolomale), village on Eua island (T), reputed to have been made by Maul Kialkisi in anger thrusting his digging stick into the ground and working it back and forth, thereby threatening to upset the entire island.
- Matalave.** To hit the face [mata, face; lave, to hit]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract in Haalaufull, village on Vavau island (V).
- Matalael.** Ivory face [mata, face; lel, ivory]. Tract near Koloa, village on Koloa island (V).
- Matalekeleka.** Abscessed face [mata, face; lekeleka, abscessed]. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tonga island (T).
- Matalekutu.** Edge of Lekutu [mata, edge]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Matalika.** To be seen advancing [mata, to be seen; iika, to be advancing]. Tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- Mataliki.** To appear in sight, used of many. Tract near Haakili, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Mataliku.** Tract outside of the village of Pea, opposite Tokomololo, on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Ngaa-kau, village on Vavau island (V)—Fakafanua, landlord.
- Matalito.** Soft face [mata, face; litolito, soft, tender]. Tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).
- Mataloko.** A lookout cliff. Tract on Euelki island (T).
- Matalolongo.** Quick face [mata, face; lolongo, quick, not loquacious]. Tract near Fukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Matalupe.** Pigeon face [mata, face; lupe, pigeon (*Carpophaga pacifica*)]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hamula.



- 103 Matanginiu. Coconut wind [matangi, wind; niu, coconut]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.
- Matangipumai. Wind that blows this way [matangi, wind; pu, to blow; mai, here, this way.] Tract near Fahefa, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Veehala, landlord.
- Matangitautaha. One wind [matangi, wind; tautaha, one, single, alone]. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haatelho, landlord.
- Matangitonga. South wind [matangi, wind; tonga, south]. Promontory on Nomuka island (H).
- Mataolokae. Tract near Leimatus, village on Vavau island (V)—Fotu, landlord.
- Matapihu. A small shellfish. Tract on Niuafuou island (NF).
- Matapoko. Eyes sunk deep in the bead. Tract near Kanokupolu, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Nomuka island (H).
- Matapopua. To look at the blowholes [mata, to look; popua, blowhole, whence surf issues as spray]. Tract near Toula, village on Vavau island (V).
- Matapule. A chief's ceremonial attendant. Tract near Houma, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).
- Matasiu. To view a canoe race [mata, to be seen; siu, a race with paddling canoes]. Tract on Fotuhaa island (H).
- Matasiva. Shame-faced [mata, face; siva, to be ashamed]. Tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Matatavahi. View of the tavahi tree [mata, view; tavahi, a tree, (Rhus taitensis)]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).
- Matatoa. View of the casuarina tree [mata, view; toa, casuarina tree]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island. Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haatelho, landlord. Also tract on Fetoa island (H). Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H). Also island (V). Also tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.
- Matatoafa. Edge of the wilderness [mata, edge; toafa, wilderness, desert]. tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- [773] Matatolu. Three eyes [mata, eyes; tolu, three]. Place on Eua island (T) where myth says Maui thrust into the rock a three-pronged spear. A spring is there. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).
- Matau. A fish hook. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord. Also tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V).
- Matauli. A dirty face [mata, face; uli, dirty]. Tract on Lofanga island (H).
- Mataumea. Clay boundary [mata, boundary; umea, clay]. Tract near Hamula, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Matautu. Perpendicular boundary [mata, boundary; utu, perpendicular]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord. Also tract in Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Matautuliki. Little perpendicular boundary [mata, boundary; utu, perpendicular; iiki, little]. Tract in Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also headland on Vavau island (V).
- Mataval. A spring, a fountain. Tract near Nuapapu, village on Nuapapu island (V). Also village and tracts near villages on Niuatoputapu island (NT): near Falehau and Mataval.
- Matavaka. View of a vessel [mata, view; vaka, vessel]. Tract near Utungake Utungake island (V)—Tuifa, landlord.
- Matavale. Foolish face [mata, face; vale, foolish]. Tract near Haalalo, village on Tongatabu island (T).

- 103 Milo. Name of a tree. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also tract near Fanongahina, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lasike, landlord. Also house site near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). In Fonuamotu section of Lapaha; belonged to a ceremonial attendant (matapule) of the Tui Haatakalaua. Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract on Taunga island (V)—Akaola, landlord. Also tract near Tafuani, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Haalaufulu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalaufulu, landlord.
- Milomilo. To twist round and round. Tract near Fouli, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord.
- Misikaimisi. Misi bird eating misi bird [misi, a bird (*Aplonis tabuensis*); kai, to eat]. Tract near Fangaleounga, village on Foa island (H)—Niukapu, landlord.
- Misileva. To dream at once [misi, to dream; leva, at once]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Misinale. Missionary. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Miuvalu. Tract near Koloval, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.
- 173 Moa. Fowl. Waves on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore at the place called Toloa, where the mythical gigantic fowl, with one wing broken by Maui, came ashore, the waves representing the fowl. Where only a part of a wave breaks it is said to be the uninjured wing of the fowl; the part which does not break is said to be the injured wing. The "broken wing" is to the westward.
- Moahengi. Wild fowl [moa, fowl; hengi, wild]. Beach on Uiha island (H).
- Moainuku. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.
- Moakaivao. Chickens eating in the bush [moa, chicken; kai, to eat; vao, bush]. Tract near Nukunuku, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Moaleva. Dry at once [moa, dry; leva, at once]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Moalinoa. Chickens tossed at random [moa, chicken; li, to toss; noa, at random].
- Moana. Ocean. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Moataane. A rooster. Tract near Falevai, village on Kapa island (V)—Fakatulolo, landlord.
- Moatao. Baked chicken [moa, chicken; tao, to be baked]. A mound where pigeons were cooked, at Tukutonga, east of Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Moenga. Bed. See Mohenga. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Mofua. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord. Also tract near Talasiu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.
- Mohe. Sleep. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord. Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Mohekihahake. To sleep in the east [mohe, to sleep; ki, in; hahake, east]. Tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord.
- Mohekihoa. Sleeping mate. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Mohekiliku. To sleep at the weather shore [mohe, to sleep; ki, at; liku, weather shore]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF)—Fusitua, landlord.
- Mohekimotu. To sleep in an island [mohe, to sleep; ki, in; motu, island]. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T).

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**Mohemata.** Death sleep [mohe, to sleep; mate, death]. Tract near Haasini, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Kotu island (H). Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H). 103

**Mohemoha.** Name of a tree. Two tracts on Hunga island (V)—Fulival and Tui Lakepa, landlords.

**Mohenga.** Bed. See Moenga. Sleeping place of mortal woman Ilaheva and the god Tangaloa Elitumatupua who was father of the first Tui Tonga. Place on Tongatabu island (T). 773 776

**Mohepongia.** Fainting sleep [mohe, sleep; pongia, to faint]. Tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H).

**Mohetol.** To sleep out of sight [mohe, to sleep; tol, to keep out of sight]. Tract on Okoa island (V)—Tui Lakepa, landlord.

**Mohetoto.** To congeal the blood [mohe, to congeal; toto, blood]. Tract on Niuafu island (NF).

**Moho.** The rail (*Ortygometra tabuensis*). Place on Tongatabu island (T). On the lagoon.

**Mohokol.** Name of a tree. Tract near Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H). Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V). Also tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Nelafu, Mangia, and Tuanekivale.

**Mohukai.** Plentiful food [mohu, plentiful; kai, food]. Tract near Puke, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fohe, landlord.

**Mohuloto.** Abundant in the center [mohu, abundant; loto, center]. Tracts near village on Tongatabu island (T): near Koloval—Ata, landlord, Havelu—Fielakepa, landlord, Vaini—Maafu, landlord, Lapaha—Pangia, landlord, and Nukuleka—Pangia, landlord.

**Mohuufi.** Abundant yams [mohu, abundant; ufi, yam]. Tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H)—Tuita, landlord. Also tract near Faleloa, village on Foa island (H).

**Moka.** Bent. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Moko.** Gecko. A level plateau near the top of Eua island (T). Named for a great gecko god who dwelt there. He was slain by Maui Kiskiskel, who found him sleeping with his mouth open and who noosed and pulled out his tongue with a piece of paper mulberry bark. 776 773

**Mokohunu.** Sea slug. Islet (T). In lagoon of Tongatabu island.

**Mokol.** Cold. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafu island (NF).

**Mokotau.** A fighting gecko [moko, gecko; tau, to fight]. Rock near Tongatabu island (T). Just west of Oneval island.

**Mokotu.** Tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Mutoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract in Nelafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Angaha, village on Niuafu island (NF). Also tract near Fataulus, village on Niuafu island (NF).

**Mokotuu.** Standing gecko [moko, gecko; tuu, to stand]. Tract near Longoteme, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Velkune, landlord.

**Mola.** Without cause. Tract on Fetoa island (H).

**Molaea.** To appear plainly without cause [mola, without cause; ea, to appear plainly]. Tract in Pangai, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Moli.** Orange. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Ahau, Lakepa—Lasihe, landlord, Utulau, Haateiho—Tui Haateiho, landlord, Nukualofa, Velitongo, Nukuhitulu, Tatakamotonga—Tungi, landlord, and Fuaamotu—Tungi, landlord. Also tract on Nomuka island (H). Also tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuhetoka, landlord. Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Haalaufull, village on Vavau island (V) Afu Haalaufull, landlord. Also tract on Niuafu island (NF).

- 103 **Umufi.** An oven of Tahitian chestnuts [umu, earth oven; fi, Tahitian chestnut]. Tract near Koloval, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.
- Umuika.** An oven of fish [umu, earth oven; ika, fish]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Umulivata.** Tract on Lofanga island (H).
- Umuu.** Oven of fear [umu, oven; na, fear, respect]. Place near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also island (V). Also tract on Vavau island (V). Location of Admiralty Coaling Ground near Ahanga boat passage between Vavau and Pangaimotu islands. Tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Toula, Utui—Veikune, landlord, and Mataika.
- [773] **Umuemuni.** The oven of Muni [umu, oven; o, of; muni, a legendary hero]. A hole in a rock on the shore of Hihifo district on Tongatabu island (T), alleged to have been used as an oven by hero Muni.
- Umuu.** Oven of al root [umu, earth oven; al, a plant]. Shore at terminus of road at lagoon shore nearest Mauanga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord.
- Umutakitaki.** Basket of cooked food carried in the hand [umu, basket of cooked food; takitaki, carry with one hand]. Tract near Mauanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafanua, landlord.
- Umutaitunu.** Basket of cooked food prepared for visitors by broiling and toasting [umu, basket of cooked food; tai, to prepare food for visitors; tunu, to toast, to broil]. Tract near Foui, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord.
- Umutangata.** Oven of men [umu, earth oven; tangata, men]. Place in Hihifo district on Tongatabu island (T), near junction of three roads from the east. Here, according to one tale, the chief Vahai roasted commoners captured in war. Also tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- [173] **Unia.** Collected together. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Unufi.** Caterpillar. Tract in Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V).
- Ungakoa.** To hide in the froth of the waves [unga, to hide, to be screened; koa, froth, foam]. A place on the edge of the cliffs of the weather side of Eua island (T), close to Tapatapao. The name is that of a huge mythical shellfish pulled out of the rock and slain by Maui Kiskisi. The ungakoa dwelt in a big cleft in the rock. His flesh was in the rock and the rock was his shell.
- [773] **Unganga.** Crowded, full. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord.
- Uefua.** A cluster of fue shrubs [ue, an indiscriminate assembly; fue, a shrub]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Uoleva.** Crowded at once [ue, an indiscriminate assembly; leva, at once]. Tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord. Also tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord. Also island (H). Possibly the name refers to the people assembled here by the Tui Tonga's representative Matanave to build pigeon mounds. Also two tracts near Hihifo and Pangai, villages on Lifuka island (H).
- Uonuku.** An indiscriminate assembly of lands [ue, an indiscriminate assembly; nuku, land]. Tract near Matahau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Felemaa, village on Uifa island (H).
- Uonukuhihifo.** Western Uonuku (see preceding); hihifo, western]. Tract near Felemaa, village on Uifa island (H).
- Upolu.** Samoan Upolu. The Tongan equivalent is Kupolu. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Uta.** Inland. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Aho-mee, landlord. Also tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V). Also tract near Potani, village on Niuafoou island (NF).

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**Utalofanga.** Land of many landing places [uta, land; lo, many; fanga, landing place]. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.

**Utamotahi.** Land and sea [uta, land; mo, and; tahi, sea]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Utui, village on Vavau island (V)—Abomee, landlord.

**Utatonu.** Fixed land [uta, land; tonu, fixed]. Tract on Lofanga island (H).

**Utavavau.** Land of Vavau [uta, land; vavau, an island of the Vavau group]. Tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka island (H).

**Utongau.** To chew the juice out of the spongy kernel of the coconut when germinating [uto, spongy kernel of the coconut when germinating; ngau, to chew the juice out of anything]. Tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord.

**Utu.** To carry. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Teekiu—Motuapuaka, landlord, Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, and Haakame. Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H). Also tract near Multoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

**Utua.** Ebb tide. Tract near Haalaufuli, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalau-fuli, landlord.

**Utuaфу.** Overcooked utu fish [utu, a fish; afu, overcooked]. Pool. Uncertain if on Vavau island; at least in Vavau group.

**Utuaka.** To gather the aka shrub [utu, to gather in; aka, a shrub]. Tracts in and near Matafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

**Utualea.** Perpendicular shore where people meet, to converse together [utu, perpendicular shore; alea, to converse together]. Tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

**Utuanifo.** Horns or teeth at ebb tide [utua, ebb tide; nifo, horn, tooth], perhaps in reference to exposed jagged rocks. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafou island (NF). Also another tract on Niuafou island (NF).

**Utuaŋŋaŋŋi.** Perpendicular shore where the breeze springs up [utu, perpendicular shore; ŋŋaŋŋi, to spring up as a breeze]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).

**Utuatea.** To have a whitish reflection like glass [utua, to reflect as glass; tea, whitish, light in color]. Tract near Napua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract and peninsula near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.

**Utufakatoka.** To run ashore at a perpendicular cliff [utu, perpendicular, as the weather shore of Vavau; fakatoka, to run ashore, to ground]. Tract near Multoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.

**Utufufu.** To draw water secretly [utu, to draw water; fufu, secretly]. Fresh-water on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore.

**Utui.** To shelter the king [u, to shelter; tui, king]. Village on Vavau island (V).

**Utukakai.** Populous perpendicular cliff [utu, perpendicular cliff; kakai, populous]. Place on Eua (?) island (T).

**Utukakala.** Rocky shore of sweet-scented flowers [utu, rocky shore; kakala, sweet-scented flowers]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Utukalongalu.** The shore that avoids the dangerous waves [utu, shore; kalo, to avoid danger; ngalu, waves]. An underground stream on Vavau island (V).

**Utukape.** Perpendicular place with kape leaves [utu, perpendicular place; kape, the plant (*Arum costatum*)]. A place below the plateau of Moko on Eua island (T). There dwelt the hero Tautaki, who fought and destroyed the people of his wife's brothers who lived near the eastern shore of Eua. Tautaki made

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- holes in the rock and covered them with kape leaves, hence the name Utukape. When his enemies trod on these places they fell into the holes, Tuutaki came and slew them. (For the sequel see the place names Vecfefe and Koloutakape).
- Utukaunga.** Fellow workman in carrying [utu, to carry; kaunga, fellow, associate]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau Island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Utukehe.** Different perpendicular shore [utu, perpendicular shore; kehe, different]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua Island (T). Also tract near Foui, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Vahai, landlord. Also tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Lavaka, landlord.
- Utukoufe.** Tract on Ofolanga Island (H).
- Utuku.** Stinking utu fish [utu, a fish; ku, to stink]. Tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Utukumi.** To carry two sheets of black tapa [utu, to carry; kumi, two sheets of black tapa]. Tract near Haakame, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Utulaa.** Sunny perpendicular cliff [utu, perpendicular cliff; laa, sunny]. Tract on Fetoa Island (H).
- Utulaaina.** Sunburnt perpendicular cliff [utu, perpendicular cliff; laaina, sunburnt]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka Island (H). Also tract near Pangal, village on Pangaimotu Island (V).
- Utulahi.** A large rocky shore [utu, rocky; lahi, large]. Tract and district on Lofanga Island (H).
- Utulalo.** Rocks below [utu, rocks; lalo, below]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano Island (H).
- Utulangivaka.** Tract in Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu Island (T).
- Utulau.** Talking rocks [utu, rocks; lau, to talk] in this case the sound of waves striking the rocks. Village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract on Oua Island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Utuliel.** Ivory cliff [utu, cliff; lei, ivory]. Village on Pangaimotu Island (V).
- Utulele.** To draw water and run [utu, to draw water; lele, to run]. Tract on Haafeva Island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.
- Utuleva.** To fetch at once [utu, to fetch; leva, at once]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Nelafu, village on Vavau Island (V).
- Utulifuka.** Perpendicular bank, where the hair is lashed together in imitation of the Fijians [utu, perpendicular bank; li, to lash together; fuka, to dress the hair in imitation of the Fijians]. Perhaps at places of this name was the reddish earth used in washing the hair. A place on the south bank of the Vaitaki, an artificial channel, on Eua Island (T). Teeveka hill stands opposite Utulifuka on the north bank of the Vaitaki. Also place near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu Island (T), a chief's place.
- Utuloa.** Long rocky shore [utu, rocky shore; loa, long]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also tract near Angaha, village on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Utuloko.** Very perpendicular [utu, perpendicular; loko, very]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Fataulua, village on Niuafoou Island (NF).
- Utulongo.** Peaceful rocky shore [utu, rocky shore; longo, peaceful]. Tract near Ahau, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau Island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- Utulongoa.** Noisy rocks [utu, rocks; longoa, noisy]. Beach near Heketa where the Tui Tonga formerly dwelt, near Niutoua, village on Tongatabu Island (T).



- 103 Valola. The living water [val, water; ola, alive]. Stream on Eua island (T). In a Tongan tale is mentioned a pool of the same name in Samoa, the sacred pool of the goddess Hina. Another Valola is the lake situated in Pulotu, the land of the departed, over which the god Hikuleo holds sway. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).
- [776]  
[775] Valomanu. Water of the animal [val, water; o, of; manu, animal]. Tract near Tuanekivale, village on Vavau island (V).
- Valomisi. Water of dreams [val, water; o, of; misi, dream]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V).
- Valomoho. Water of the rail [val, water; o, of; moho, the rail (*Ortygometra tabuensis*)]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Valopa. Stream of slopping [val, stream; o, of; pa, to slop]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Vaipaha. Water that breaks out [val, water; paha, to break out]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Vaipakola. Water of low commoners [val, water; pakola, a Fijian term signifying "low commoner"; also used as an exclamation with the meaning, "Die, you wretches"]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Vaipapa. Smooth water [val, water; papa, even, smooth]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Vaipoa. Water with the smell of fish [val, water; poa, the smell of fish]. Two tracts near Nukualofa and Fofaha, villages on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehake, landlord. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V). Also the name of a mythical bit of sea water formerly at Haakio. It was carried away in the mouth of a god and finally deposited at Tufumahina, Tongatabu island. Also village on Niuaotuputapu island (NT). Also tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuafoou island (NF).
- [773] Vaipoata. Inland Vaipoa [uta, inland]. Tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V).
- Vaipua. Seaweed water [val, water; pua, a seaweed]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Vaipulu. Water covered with coconut husks [val, water; pulu, the husk of the coconut]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuaotuputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract on Niuaotuputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord. Also tract on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Vaipuua. The two spouting streams [val, stream; pu, to spout; ua, two]. A long arm of the sea extending far north into Vavau island (V) and dividing the island into an eastern and a western part.
- Vaisii. Little water [val, water; sii, little]. Tract on Niuafoou island (NF).
- Vaisio. Water of the sio shellfish [val, water; sio, a shellfish]. Tract near Taao, village on Vavau island (V).
- Vaisioata. Mirroring water [val, water; sioata, anything which reflects the image]. Well on Uoleva island (H). Beside the pigeon mound called Siakulufotu (or Siakulufotu).
- Vaisisi. Water of the si-leaf dress [val, water; sisi, a dress for working in, made from the leaves of the si plant]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Valtafe. Brook. Stream on weather shore of Tongatabu island (T).

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**Vaupula.** To scrape the pula shrub [vau, to scrape; pula, a shrub]. Tract on Niuafou Island (NF)—Fotofili, landlord. 103

**Vavae.** The cotton plant. Tract near Koloua, village on Tongatabu Island (T). Also two tracts near Tefisi—Luani, landlord, and Holonga, villages on Vavau Island (V).

**Vavau.** Two tracts near Nukualofa and Hoi, villages on Tongatabu Island (T). Also tract on Tungua Island (H)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka Island (H)—Tui Aftu, landlord. Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano Island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano Island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also island (V). The northern group of islands in the Tongan archipelago.

**Vaea.** Quick. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

**Vavelotu.** Prayers said quickly [vave, quick; lotu, prayer]. Tract near Uuha, village on Uuha Island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

**Veeefe.** The spraying water [vee, water; fefe, to spray]. A group of eight scattered springs at the foot of the precipitous rock Koloutakape, on Eua Island (T). The origin of these springs forms a sequel to the fight of Tuutaki with his wife's brother, mentioned under the place name Utukape. After Tuutaki had slain his wife's relatives he went to rest at the edge of a neighboring high cliff. He stuck his two-pointed spear, called tamataua, into the ground at the edge of the cliff and rested against it with his back to the precipice. He then called to his wife to bring him a drink. She brought him but a little water to drink and as he bent his head back to drain the cup, she pushed him over the precipice. He seized her and they fell together. He was impaled on a tree, but she fell to the rocks. The little water left in the coconut shell cup slashed into eight places, and from it arose the eight springs called Veeefe. According to another version the springs appeared where eight fragments of the coconut cup struck. 103 773

**Veengangana.** Split water, in reference to myth of its having been split from mouth of a god who was carrying it [vee, water; ngangana, to spill]. Water near Makave, village on Vavau Island (V).

**Veepueki.** Water of the pueki shellfish [vee, water; pueki, a shellfish]. A small upland lake in red soil in deep depression on Eua Island (T). 103

**Veetoki.** Water of the toki shellfish [vee, water; toki, a shellfish]. Tract near Vaipoa, village on Niuatoputapu Island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

**Vehivehikai.** Trying to eat. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu Island (T).

**Velali.** Water of the ali fish [vei, water; ali, a fish]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua Island (T).

**Velanga.** Place where fish are supposed to die from the heat of the sun [vela, dead fish supposed to die from the heat of the sun; anga, place]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

**Velata.** Reflecting water [vei, water; ata, to reflect as a mirror]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau Island (V).

**Velfili.** Chosen water [vei, water; fili, to choose]. Tract near Teekiu, village on Tongatabu Island (T)—Motuapuaka, landlord.

**Veifo.** Broken sheet of water [vei, water; foa, to make an opening]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu Island (T): near Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, Veltongo, Holonga, and Hamula—Pangia, landlord. Also tract and district near Fakakakai, village on Haano Island (H).

# TONGAN MYTHOLOGY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TONGANS

127 Though it is premature for a detailed comparison of Tongan mythology  
171 with other Polynesian mythologies, the writer has attempted a rough ap-  
121 proximation of the affinities of Tongan mythology to the mythologies of  
the great areas of the Pacific as presented in Roland B. Dixon's "Oceanic  
Mythology."<sup>2</sup>

127 Having Tongan mythology quite thoroughly in mind, Dixon's book on  
128 Oceanic mythology was read and a check mark entered in the margin wher-  
ever an episode appeared to have a Tongan parallel. If error was made  
it was on the side of entering too many check marks, for undoubtedly some  
of the episodes checked as having Tongan parallels, in truth have not, as  
171 the resemblance in certain instances was rather remote. Upon completing  
the book it was found that there were sixty-seven check marks in the Poly-  
nesian part, forty-eight in the Indonesian, twenty-seven in the Micronesian,  
ten in the Melanesian, and six in the Australian. These figures undoubt-  
edly represent in a rough fashion the affinities of Tongan mythology. It  
was to be expected that resemblances to Polynesia would be numerous, and  
undoubtedly when the other members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition  
have published their reports the number of resemblances will be materially  
increased.

The number of parallels between Indonesia and Tonga are astonishingly  
large, being more than four times the number that are found between Tonga  
and Melanesia. Many of the resemblances between Tonga and Indonesia  
are so specific that it is hard to believe they are merely accidental. In  
fact, the high number of resemblances, forty-eight, would preclude accident  
as the sole factor, especially when contrasted with only ten resemblances  
between Tonga and adjacent Melanesia.

171 The paucity of the Micronesian material undoubtedly accounts for the  
128 fact that only twenty-seven resemblances were found between it and  
Tongan material. On the other hand, allowing for the scarcity of  
Micronesian material, this is a fairly high figure and would seem to indi-  
cate that the connection between Tonga and Indonesia is by way of  
Micronesia rather than Melanesia.

174 The Tongan myths and tales in themselves throw a little light on the  
773 geographic aspect of Tongan origins.

538 In looking over the field of Tongan mythology, one is struck by the  
frequency of derivation of plants and fishes from Samoa, from the sky,  
and from Pulotu (the land of the gods), and by the absence of allusions  
to Fiji as a place from which useful plants and animals have been derived.

[113] <sup>2</sup>Dixon, Roland B., *The mythology of all races: Oceanic*, vol. 9, Boston, 1916.

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It seems to me that this very absence of mention of Fiji is negative evidence of the relatively late contact with Fiji. On the other hand, the references to Samoa indicate an early contact with that group, which in the Maui tale, even furnishes the fishhook with which the island of Tongatabu is hauled to the surface. It seems to me, too, that these facts have a bearing on the theory of the probable route of migration of the Tongans; or to state more nearly what is in my mind, that they give us some clue as to the direction from which the Tongans came; probably not by wholesale migration, but by gradual infiltration. The negative evidence of the myths and tales makes it clear that it was not Fiji, and that Fiji did not lie in their route of travel to their present habitat. The positive evidence of the myths and tales, on the other hand, makes it very clear that Samoa lay in the line of travel, and that undoubtedly when heaven and Puluotu are referred to, it is lands beyond Samoa which are meant.

The points just adduced from the preceding myths and tales, therefore, would seem to support the theory that the Tongans have entered their present territory by way of Micronesia, rather than by way of Melanesia. The idea of the Polynesians entering their island homes by way of Micronesia rather than Melanesia, was proclaimed as early as 1799 in the Voyage of the Duff, where on pages 85 and 86 of the Preliminary Discourse, the following is set forth:

"It must not, however, be omitted, that people of the same race with the natives of the groups [Tahiti, Tonga, Marquesas] we have described, are dispersed over the Ladrone and Caroline islands, which lie north of the Equator, and extend from the 130th to the 175th degree of east longitude; and they have reached from the latter group, or from some intermediate places not yet discovered, to the Sandwich islands, which are situated between 155° and 160° west longitude, and 19° and 22° north latitude. Crossing the Equator, probably from the more eastern of the Caroline islands, they have spread over the clusters of which we have given an account, and from the Friendly islands have reached the large country of New Zealand, .....; while from Otaheite, or some of the islands south-east of it, they have made a surprising stretch to the solitary spot called Easter Island. The language and customs of this widely scattered nation have been traced to the coasts of the great Asiatic islands, Luzon and Borneo, and from thence to the peninsula of Malacca, the Aurea Chersonesus, beyond which the geographical knowledge of the ancients can hardly be said to have extended. The astonishing migrations of this race seem to have originated, like those of the northern Europeans, from designs of conquest. These they carried into effect on the coasts of the grand Asiatic archipelago, driving back the black natives of those very extensive islands to the interior mountains which they still occupy as a distinct and independent people. But the migrations of the fairer race from the Philippine islands to the Carolines, and farther eastward, have almost to a certainty been occasioned by stress of weather, which drove their canoes from island to island, and from one group to another, that had not before been peopled. Frequent incidents of this nature have been ascertained, and some of them have been specified in our account of the islands connected with Otaheite. The population of islands so widely scattered, cannot, for the greater part be otherwise explained, either upon the ground of established fact, or upon that probable conjecture."

174 Certain features of Tongan mythology appear to bear on the internal history of the country.

773 The localization of the Maui adventures in the Vavau and Tongatabu groups, to the exclusion of the Haapai group, is probably more than mere accident. Moreover the Maui tale appears to be a composite of two separate local cycles, one of which makes Koloa in the Vavau group their residence, the other of which makes Eua in the Tongatabu group their residence. The fact should not be overlooked in this connection that Mariner states that Tangaloa was the god who drew the Tonga islands from the deep to the surface of the waters.<sup>4</sup>

In Haapai the place of Maui is largely filled by the hero Muni, whose exploits somewhat resemble Maui's. Peculiar also to Haapai are the stories of the Son of the Sun.

174 The mythological position of Haapai is partly paralleled in place names. 103] Haapai and Tongatabu have 425 names in common, Vavau and Tongatabu 446, but Vavau and Haapai only 168. Both the mythological and ethnogeographical evidence point to an aloofness of Haapai anciently, particularly in respect to Vavau.

Tongatabu is pre-eminent both ethnogeographically and mythologically.

103] In an ethnogeographic sense it was the center from which influence flowed both to Haapai and Vavau, judging by the hundreds of place names it holds in common with these two groups. Mythologically, it is the islands of Ata and Tongatabu that are hauled first to the surface of the waters 174 by the Maui. Men, too, were created in the Tongatabu group and further- 773 more, the first Tui Tonga was the son of a woman of Tongatabu by a divine mate, the god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. Even the hero Muni, although he spent his boyhood in Haapai, was of Tongatabuan origin and performed in Tongatabu his doughtiest deeds.

[113] <sup>4</sup>Martin, John, M.D. An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, with an original grammar and vocabulary of their language. Compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr. William Mariner, several years resident in those islands. In two volumes. Vol. 2, pp. 116, 121, 1817 edition, London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1817.



FISON'S "TALES FROM OLD FIJI"

Lorimer Fison's *Tales from Old Fiji*<sup>1</sup> include a number of stories which have Tongan parallels. As Fison's collection is from eastern Fiji, a region with much Tongan blood in its population, the parallels are to be expected. Of the twelve tales he presents, six are matched by the Tongan tales presented in this paper. Two others refer specifically to Tonga, but have no parallels in my collection. Of these two, one concerns Napoleon. The second concerns "The Beginning of Death" and was told by the famous Tongan chief Maafu, whose military operations in Fiji in the last century won him renown. 171 538 [113] [144] 538

Maafu's version of the origin of death, to wit: that certain gods came from Puluṭu to dwell in Tongatabu and there became mortal and subject to disease and death, was not encountered in any of the tales which I gathered in Tonga. The same motive, however, is recorded in Mariner's work on Tonga\*. Included in Maafu's tale, as a necessary preliminary to mortal existence, is the land-fishing of Maui, whereby Ata and Tongatabu are hauled from the depths. Then Tongatabu becomes the home of the runaway gods of Puluṭu, who become mortal. Maafu's tale conveys a striking picture of the spiteful character of Hikuleo, who becomes the lord of Puluṭu, after Tangaloa goes to the sky and Maui goes under Tongatabu to keep it from sinking. Although many details in Maafu's story occur in other Tongan tales, for example, the "water of life" and the "tree of speech," Maafu's particular combination of details and episodes is unique. 538 773 538

Fison's Fijian tales unquestionably are, in large measure, nothing but Tongan tales. Fison points out that many of his tales are notable for their Fijian coloring in spite of their dealing with Tongan characters. He mentions especially the story of Longapoa, and stresses the references to cannibalism. On the whole, references to cannibalism are rather scarce in Tongan tales. 538 171

It seems legitimate to regard Fison's tales and my collection as two branches from a single Tongan trunk, branches which separated from the parent stem many generations ago. Each has since pursued its growth with a fair degree of independence. On the one hand, Fison's transplanted tales flourished in a new environment, where they were to a considerable extent influenced by Fijian ideas. On the other hand, the tales which were ultimately collected by me continued to develop in their own native environment. However, intercourse between Tonga and Fiji (especially the Tongan colonists in Fiji) was probably but seldom inter- 538 171 174

\* De la More Press, London, 1907.

\* Martin, *op. cit.* vol. 2, p. 126.



COSMOGONY

773 Tongan cosmogony, unlike some other Polynesian cosmogonies, does not tell of a void in the beginning, but instead tacitly assumes the pre-existence of the sky, the sea, and the land of Pulu (the home of the souls of departed chiefs).

113 The Tongan creation myth has happily been published in both Tongan and French by Father Reiter.<sup>13</sup> In 1910 Josiah Martin<sup>14</sup> published a portion of the Tongan creation story in which the fishing up of the island of Tongatabu is related. Reverend E. E. V. Collocott<sup>15</sup> has published a free translation of the account of the origin of the gods and of the world. Creation myths have also been published in the Tongan language.<sup>16</sup>

128 In the present paper only the variants of these published accounts are recorded.

114 The account by Father Reiter and that by Collocott disagree as to the paternity of the Maui, the former naming the god Taufulifonua as the father, the latter the god Biki (Piki). The manuscript of J. P. Maatu agrees with Father Reiter's account in proclaiming Taufulifonua the father of the Maui. But Maatu's manuscript goes further and lists them as Maui Loa, Maui Puku, and Maui Atalanga. Collocott lists them as Maui-motua, Maui-buku, and Maui Atulanga.

114 Again Maatu's manuscript is specific where the published accounts are not. It states that the particular sort of *kiu* (snipe or plover), in which 773 Tangaloa Atulolongongo became incarnate in his search for land, was the *tulione*. A second version in Maatu's manuscripts is not so specific. It 114 does, however, state that the writers of the version were Kelekele and Tokemoana, who with Tongavalevale and the Tamaha Amelia were the writers of a similar account that I obtained from Jonathan Fonua of Neiafu, Vavau.

773 In the Tongan cosmogonical tales there is no hint of the creation of the sea, sky, sun, moon or stars. Their preëxistence is either stated or tacitly assumed.

539 The account of the origin of the gods in the old manuscript in the possession of Mr. John Panuve Maatu describes the origin of sexual intercourse by the twin deities Taufulifonua (male) and Havea Lolofonua (female): "And Piki and Kele made a new country which they named Tonga Mamao (Distant Tonga) and took their children Taufulifonua and Havea Lolofonua

<sup>13</sup> Reiter, P., *Traditions tongiennes*, Anthropos, vol. 2, pp. 230-236, 438-443; 743-750, 1907.

<sup>14</sup> Martin, Josiah, *Origin of the name of Tonga Island*: Jour. Poly. Soc., vol. 19, pp. 163-166, 1910.

<sup>15</sup> Collocott, E. E. V., *A Tongan theogony*: Folk-Lore, vol. 30, pp. 234-238, 1919.

<sup>16</sup> (1) By Taufupulu, *Koe tupuaga o mamani mo hono kakai*, Koe Fafaga, vol. 4, pp. 122-127, 1906; (2) By the Tamaha, Kelekele, Tokemoana, and Tongavalevale, the origin tale, published in *Koe Makasini: a Koliji*, vol. 4, pp. 22-26, 51-55, 74-78, 1881-1883; (3) *Koe talanoa ki Eua*, *Koe Makasini a Koliji*, vol. 4, pp. 109-111, 1881-1883.

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there. But not yet did those two know each other. They were still innocent and went about naked, for they were not ashamed. So it was until one day when they went to bathe in the sea and were lying face downwards with their feet in the water. The tide was flooding and began to break upon their feet. On and on it came, until it covered their bodies. *Subito piscis qui oo appellabatur, unda adlapsus cunnum puellae exhauriebat.* She was in pain and cried and kicked her feet about in the sand, because of the suffering caused by the oo's sucking. Neither she nor her brother knew what to do to relieve her agony. *Molliter cunnum manu mulcebat; reque tamen ex eo puella quam minimum solatium cepit. Denique penem inseruit et ex eo magnum solatium cepit.* That was the beginning of their knowledge and they cohabited regularly thereafter." 539

Garbled verbal accounts of the cosmogony were obtained from various informants. In one of these, the three human beings created from the maggot or worm are designated as a man, a woman, and a third person. The woman is called Kohai, the man Momo, and the name of the third was forgotten. The three names, however, are assigned a mystic significance, Kohai standing for the future, Momo for the present, and the third name for the past. This is probably a connotation introduced solely by the raconteur, James Lilo, of Lotofoa, Foa island, Haapai. 773 539 124

In certain of the accounts a clear distinction is made between the islands fished up by the Maui (Tongatabu, Haapai, Vavau, Niua, and Samoa) and those which they did not fish up.

"They did not fish up Kao, Tofua, Hunga Haapai, Hunga Tonga, Late, or Fonualei [all volcanic islands]. Nor was all of Fiji fished up. The countries that were not fished up were thrown down from heaven. Therefore they are called the land-stones (*makaonua*) of Hikuleo, the maker of all the countries that are full of unevenness, that jump backward and forward [i.e., are subject to earthquakes] and that are full of holes and pits, for they are the countries which were not fished up by the Maui."

A brief version of the Maui land-fishing story told by Lie, a man of Koulo, Lifuka island, Haapai, makes Eua the starting point of the expedition, makes the woman, who becomes enamoured of one of the Maui, the daughter of the hook owner instead of his wife, and makes the first land hauled up Rarotonga instead of Tokelau.

An important text dealing with the origin of the wind and of various food plants forms a sequel to the tale about the creation of man on Ata. This text, which might appropriately have formed part of the series published by Father Reiter in *Anthropos*, was courteously placed at my disposal by the Right Reverend Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc of Tonga. Because of the importance of the tale I present the original Tongan text as 539 127 128

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Pea o hifo leva ae hopa mei langi, ke tuu i Ata. Ko hono hingoa oe hopa koia, koe putalinga, koe hopa fungani lelei; ka oku ikai ha hopa ilaloni; ka koe tupu mei langi ae hopa koe putalinga. Pea toki movete ai o tuu kotoape i he fonua kehekehe; ka koe o hifo mei langi o fua tuu i Ata. Koe ngoue o Laufakanaa, pea o hifo ai leva moe akau koe si, hono hingoa. Aeni oku tao hono foha o ngau, pea ngaahi aki ae ma o hingoa koe poopooi, pea ngaahiaki ai mea kai kehekehe; he koe akau oku lelei, pea aonga; he oku kau foki ki he ngaahi mea kai kotcape.

Pea o hifo foki ae ufi; ko hono hingoa koe nguata, koe o hifo ia ke tuu i Ata. Pea o hifo foki ae ufi e taha, koe tuaata, hono hingoa, o o hifo foki ia o tuu i Ata. He koe ngaahi akau kai koia, koe tupu mei Ata. Pea koe toki fakatupu kehekehe e ngaahi tevolo nihi ae meakai kehekehe. He kou osi ae talanoa ki Ata.

And the native banana was brought down from the sky and planted at Ata. The name of that banana is *putalinga*, a very nice banana; there was no banana here below, but originally there came from the sky the banana *putalinga*. Then it was scattered and it grew in all the different lands; however it came from the sky and first grew at Ata. Its (appearance on earth) was the work of Laufakanaa, and (he) also brought the plant called *si*. The root of this is baked and chewed, and is also cooked with native bread, and is called *poopooi*, and other kinds of food are made from it; because it is a very good root, and useful; therefore it is used in many kinds of food.

And the yam was brought down also; its name is *nguata*, and it was brought down to plant at Ata. And was brought down another yam, called *tuaata*, which was planted at Ata. All these food plants grew first on Ata. And then some of the gods created other kinds of food plants. That is all of the narrative about Ata.

The printed Tongan tales of the origin of the first Tongan land do not make it clear whether the Ata island, which the myths designate together with Eua island as the first land, is the low Ata island lying a few miles north of Tongatabu or the lofty and probably volcanic Ata or Pylstaart island lying more than fifty miles south of Tongatabu. Collocott maintains that it is the adjacent island that is meant and several elderly natives whom I interviewed held the same view. Among these natives were two former inhabitants of the distant Ata or Pylstaart. Furthermore, Tongan legends place the discovery of Pylstaart only a few generations ago.

On the other hand, Bishop Blanc<sup>17</sup> takes the stand that it is the distant Ata or Pylstaart that is referred to in the myths, thus making the two first created lands (Eua and Ata) both lofty in contradistinction to the low-lying Tongatabu, later hauled to the surface with Maui's fish hook. Commander Wilkes, U.S.N.,<sup>18</sup> and the Reverend Walter Lawry<sup>19</sup> explicitly state (both from the same missionary source) that the Ata referred to is Pylstaart. No modern native evidence supports these assertions. However, Maafu's account<sup>20</sup> of the land-fishing of the Maui makes mention of

<sup>17</sup> P. Soane Malia, *Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique*, chapter 3, Librairie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, 1910, Lyon, Paris.

<sup>18</sup> Wilkes, Charles, U.S.N., *Narrative of the U. S. Expl. Exped., 1838-1842*, vol. 3, p. 23, Philadelphia, 1845.

<sup>19</sup> Lawry, Walter, *Friendly and Feejee Islands*, 2nd ed., p. 113, London, 1850.

<sup>20</sup> Fison, Lorimer, *Tales from Old Fiji*, page 144, London, 1907.

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773 mountains on the Ata that was hauled from the sea: "And leaping ashore, he [Maui] sprang to the top of the highest mountain, and stamped upon it with his feet. And, as he stamped, the earth shook, and the mountain crumbled away beneath his feet, and rolled down into the valleys below, till they were filled up to the level on which he stood. This he did to four of the seven hills, leaving the other three untrodden, for he grew weary of the work."

When Tongatabu was hauled to the surface, Maui trod down all of the hills <sup>10</sup> "into rich and fertile plains; on which, even as he trod, there sprang up grass and flowers and trees, while the earth swelled into hillocks round his feet, bursting with yams, and sweet potatoes, and all manner of food." Here we have an origin of the food plants quite different from that set forth in the tales that I obtained. The sky, foreign lands, and a buried human body are the sources given in the tales here published.

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[772] The concept of multiple skies is found in Tonga and is clearly set forth in a recitative (*fakanina*) given by the crippled man Taufu, and in the archives of the Methodist church by Dr. J. E. Moulton. The Tongan text, with a translation by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker, follows:

Ke fanongo mai e tama hiva ni,  
Kae fai siemanu lau langi:  
Langi tuo taha, langi tuo ua  
Teke e Maui ke maolunga,  
Kau eva fakamofutofuta;  
Ko hotau fonua oku ua,  
Ko langi ni pea mo lolofonua.  
Langi tuo tolu, langi tuo fa,  
Nofu ai a ufua mo lata,  
Koe langi kehe langi uha  
Ne ne ufua langi maa.  
Langi tuo nima, langi tuo ono,  
Nofu ae laa mate toto,

Sii fetuu ene fakaholo  
Ne hange ha tuinga tokotoko;  
Pea hanga hake ki ai e nofo.

Langi tuo fitu, langi tuo valu,  
Nofu ai a Hina mo Sinilau;  
Koe langi ape e tamutamu  
Ha mea e leo lahi ange fau,  
Oka ita oka longolongo tau,  
Langi tuo hiva, tuo hongofulu,  
Koe langi ne fulufulu motuku,  
Koe langi ape oku unlu,  
Kae fefei e talauku.

Listen, O poet,  
While I tell of the skies:  
First sky and second sky  
Pushed by Maui to be high,  
So that I could walk stately;  
Our lands are two,  
The sky and the underworld.  
Third sky and fourth sky,  
Dwell there the covered and inclosed,  
The different sky, the sky that rains  
And that hides the cloudless sky.  
Fifth sky and sixth sky,  
Dwells there the sun, who dies in crim-  
son,

The little stars moving in succession  
Like a string of walking-sticks;  
And look up to them the dwellers on  
earth.

Seventh sky and eighth sky,  
Dwell there Hina and Sinilau;  
The sky of the thunder  
With a great loud voice,  
When angry or giving omen of war.  
The ninth sky and the tenth,  
The sky feathery like herons,  
The sky of uncertain rumbling,  
Perhaps telling of parting.

[173] The three following short cosmogonical tales obtained from living Tongans are of interest. The first is really a divine genealogy and was told

# TALES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES

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823 Tales accounting for the location of certain islands are commonly current in Tonga today. A number of islands like Tanoa, mentioned in the preceding tale, are described as portions of other islands that have been removed by thievish gods and dropped in their present position. Certain rocks are said to be transformed people who usually made the transformation to escape a pursuer or because of chagrin over failure to accomplish an undertaking. Other islands are said to have been brought forth by a goddess.

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(538)  
[773] The episode of gods stealing the top of a mountain but dropping it upon the approach of dawn occurs also in the Society islands in reference to a rock near the island of Eimeo. The following paragraph<sup>70</sup> with Tongan names substituted would describe the episode as it repeatedly occurs in Tongan tales:

"They entertain a high idea of the power of spirits. In the beautiful and romantic view of Taloo harbour the remarkable peaked mountain is said to be but a part of the original one. Some spirits from Ulietea had broken off the other half and were transporting it down the bay, in order to carry it away with them, but, being overtaken by the break of day, they were obliged to drop it near the mouth of the harbour, where it now stands conspicuous as a rock; for, like the elves and fairies of our ancestors, these spirits walk and work by night."

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## THE ORIGIN OF ISLANDS

### THE ORIGIN OF TANOA ISLAND<sup>71</sup>

This story is about the little island of Tanoa which was formerly situated in the middle of the lagoon of Nomuka and which a god named Haelefeke, from the Otutolu islands where he lived, came and stole from the middle of the lagoon.

He started to take it to the Otutolu, but as he came opposite Fonoifua island, Tafakula went and turned his anus from the direction from which the sun rises. When Haelefeke saw the light from Tafakula's anus in the east, he thought the sun was rising and dropped the island and ran away. That is how the little island of Tanoa comes to be standing beside Fonoifua.

For another version of this tale see pages 86 and 87.

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<sup>70</sup> A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship Duff, commanded by Captain James Wilson, page 335, 1799, London.  
<sup>71</sup> Told by John Hafoka, of Nomuka island, Haapai.

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THE ORIGIN OF NUKUNAMU ISLAND<sup>73</sup>

The small island of Nukunamu lies between the islands of Foa and Haano in the Haapai group. Tongan mythology has it that Nukunamu was originally a piece of land which filled the site of a swamp on Foa. The manner in which this piece of land came to be the island of Nukunamu is related as follows:

Two gods from Samoa, Haelefeke and another, came to Haapai. They stole a piece of land from the island of Foa, leaving a great hollow where they removed it. This hollow is occupied by the swamp now known as Malaemohu. A Tongan god named Tafakula (literally Red Edges) witnessed the theft. He proceeded in pursuit of the thieves. He went to the top of a mountain on the volcanic island Tofua. He there took off the garments which he had girded about his loins and stooped over, exposing his red anus. It shone brightly like the setting sun, frightening the Samoan gods exceedingly. They dropped their booty in the ocean off the northern end of Foa, and there it is to be seen today in the form of the island of Nukunamu. The affrighted Samoan gods hastened back to their native islands.

THE ORIGIN OF KAO ISLAND<sup>74</sup>

This is the story of how Kao was taken from the neighboring island of Tofua, which was once so high that it could be seen from Samoa and also from Tuahivavale (Eight Ridges).

Three deities from Samoa, Tuvuvota, Sisi, and Faingaa, conspired to steal Tofua. So they came and tore up the high mountain by its very roots and its place was taken by a large lake (the crater lake of Tofua). This enraged the Tongan gods very much and one of them, Tafakula, essayed to stop the thieves. He stood on the little island of Luahoko (in the Haapai group) and bent over so as to show his anus. It shone so brilliantly that the Samoan deities were struck with fear, thinking that the sun was rising and that their dastardly work was about to be revealed. Hence, they dropped the mountain close to Tofua and fled to Samoa. The mountain became the island of Kao.

[Tofua is some sixteen hundred feet in height and has a crater lake in the interior. Just north of Tofua rises the great volcanic cone of Kao, three thousand three hundred and eighty feet in height.]

<sup>73</sup> Told by Joel Helu, Mayor of Lotofua, Foa island, Haapai.

<sup>74</sup> Told by Mesake Lomu, of Fotua, Foa island, Haapai.

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# ORIGIN OF HEAVENLY BODIES

The only stories that were obtained about stars were those relating to the origin of the Magellan clouds and the evening star. It is interesting to note that these tales are in no way connected with the cosmogony, but are on the contrary rather puerile tales that attribute the origin of these stars to the transformation of mischievous boys. 539 821 773

In the story entitled "The Origin of the Reef Matahina," page 100, reference is made of the origin of the constellation Orion. 539

## THE ORIGIN OF THE MAGELLAN CLOUDS\*\*

Once upon a time there was living at Vaini, in Tongatabu, a great chief called Maafu, whose descendants are living to this day. It was Maafu's habit to bathe every evening in a water hole known as Tufatakale, so called because close by there lived at one time a man and a woman whose names were Tufa and Kale. Maafu, being a cleanly person, used to take a piece of coconut husk with him as a sort of scrubbing brush. After he had finished with it, he always threw it on a flat stone at the side of the water hole.

Living in the immediate vicinity was a huge female lizard, who, after Maafu's evening bath, always came and swallowed the piece of coconut husk. Time went on and a most astonishing thing occurred. The lizard gave birth to twins—not lizards—but to all appearance, shape, and size, human beings. She called them Maafu Toka and Maafu Lele.

Years rolled by and the two boys had almost reached manhood, when one day they went to their mother and said: "We are tired of living here by ourselves. Tell us who our father is and we will go to him and live with him." The old lizard realized that it was of no use trying to keep hidden any longer two such fine, healthy, and happy youths. So with a sad heart she rubbed them all over with scented oil, dressed their hair and hung sweet smelling garlands of flowers and leaves round their necks. Her directions were that they were to take a certain road and at the end of it, where it opened out into the town, they would see a large house, outside of which a number of people would be sitting drinking kava. They were not to go up at once, but were to watch and see to whom the greatest respect was being paid. Then, after the kava drinking was over, they were to approach the person to whom the greatest respect had been shown. That person would be Maafu, their father.

The boys bade their mother farewell. By carrying out her instructions they soon found the house and saw the kava drinking ceremony. It did not take them long to recognize their father, but they waited at a little

\*\* Recorded by W. H. Murley, of Pangai, Lifu island, Haapai.

## STORIES ABOUT VISITS TO PULOTU, THE LAND OF THE DEPARTED

Tales recounting the adventures of gods and mortals who journeyed from this world (Tonga) to Pulotu (an island said to be somewhere to the northwest and to be the home of many of the gods and of the souls of departed chiefs) are fairly common. Hikuleo, the ruler of Pulotu, is portrayed sometimes as a female divinity, sometimes as a male. In certain of the Pulotu tales the visitors are forced to undergo ordeals.

Only one tale of the Orpheus and Eurydice type was obtained. In it the roles are reversed. It is the wife who seeks the husband. This tale has been placed under the caption "Stories of Hina and Sinilau," as these two characters are prominent in it. (See p. 183.)

THE ORIGIN OF THE DEITY FEHULUNI<sup>100</sup>

Tokua mae i ai ha ongo matua mo ena fanau e toko hiva. Pea koe aho e taha iloange nae pekia ae taoketelele. Pea hili hono fai ia, pea toe pekia ae hoko; pea hili hono fai ia, pea toe pekia ae hoko o pehe pe, hokohoko i he ngahi aho kioa o au ki hono toko ono. Pea i he fai hono toko ono nae tala e he tanata aia ko hono toko fitu: "Mou nofo heni kau alu o vakai pe koeha oku tau pehe ai; he koeni kuo tau mei osi; naa oku ai ha taha te ne fetuku kitautolu." Koia naa ne tala. "Ko eku alu eni, pea e tuku hoku angaanga i he ana koe (ko hono hingoa ko Makatuua); pea kau ka fueloa mai oua naa mou tanu hoku angaanga, kae guku keu foki mai ki ai."

Pea ne too ha kiefau o vala, pea ne toki alu hifo ki Pulotu. Pea i he ene au ki Pulotu naa ne ilo ha fale pea mo ha afi oku kohu i tua. Ta! koe api ia o Hikuleo. Pea ne alu ki ai pea ne ilo he afi ha foi oku tunu ai. "Koe hingoa oe foi ufi koe lokolokamangavalu. Pea ne pakii ha manga e taha (he nae mangavalu foki ae foi ufi), o kai. Pea hau a Hikuleo ke fokihia ene tunu. Ta! kuo mole ae manga e taha. Pea ne kaila o pehe, "Kohai ha taha oku ne ave aku mangai ufi; hange ko Tui Haatata oku kei i mama?" Pea ne toe totolo mai o toe pakii moe manga e taha. Toe hau a Hikuleo o toe fai ene kaila. Pea na

It is said that there were two parents that had nine children. And suddenly one day the eldest died. And after he was buried, then the next eldest died; and after he was buried, then the next eldest died and so on, continued day after day till the sixth was reached. And after the burial of the sixth, the man who was the seventh said: "You remain here while I go and see what is the matter with us; for we are nearly all dead; perhaps there is some one that is carrying us off." Thus he told them. "I am going, and I will leave my dead body in the cave (the name of which was Makatuua: *maka*, stone; *tuu*, appear as a spirit; *ua*, two); and should I be away a long time don't bury my body, but leave it for me to return to it."

And he took a fine mat as a loin cloth, then he went down to Pulotu. And when he reached Pulotu he found a house and some fire that was smoking outside. Behold! it was the home of Hikuleo. And he went up to it and found a yam on the fire baking. The name of that yam was *lokolokamangavalu* (*lokoloka*, rough skin; *manga*, forked; *valu*, eight). And he broke off one of the forks (the yam had eight forks), and ate it. And Hikuleo came and turned the baking yam. Lo! one of the forks was gone. And he shouted and said, "Who is the person that has taken the fork of my yam; just like Tui

<sup>100</sup> Told by John Havili. Recorded by E. E. V. Collocott. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

## STORIES

## INTRODUCTION

The Tongan is an incurable conversationalist. He is a fine orator, and a critical judge of public speaking, equally gifted in conversation. Sociable, humorous, keen-witted, he is admirable in the give-and-take of conversation and banter. A joke is rewarded with peals of laughter. An oddity is summed up in a pointed phrase. Tongans are keen and swift judges of character. A salient feature in the stranger's appearance or character is quickly seized upon. These people have a strong vein of satiric humor which soon strips off a man's disguises; but is not unkindly, and is equally ready to do justice to his virtues. Intelligent and interested in the great world, they welcome into the circle of conversation the foreigner, or the native who has travelled or is able to read the newspapers, and relish his accounts of lands and events outside their own little kingdom.

In ordinary social intercourse, no less than on great ceremonial occasions, the Tongan is remarkable for his dignified courtesy. The lowest born, as well as the chief, has a refinement of manners, which is without servility, and makes his behavior free from embarrassment, even in the presence of the highest chiefs. It is safe to venture the guess that a badly behaved Tongan has spent much time in one of the European settlements. Tongan social usages are strict in their demands, and this unembarrassed correctness of behavior, free from shyness or effrontery, is not a little striking. The foreigner who has spent many happy years with these people must not omit to express his appreciation of the kindly forbearance, not unmingled with amusement—for the Tongan cannot resist a joke—with which the social lapses of the stranger are overlooked, nor the frequent invitation to dispense with some usage which might be irksome to him.

Story-telling is largely in the domain of the older women. The general term for a tale is *fananga*. An institution like the Maori colleges, *whare wānanga* (custodians of sacred lore), seems not to have existed among the Tongans. The stories in this work, and in Gifford's *Tongan Myths and Tales* (22) are *fananga*. It will be seen that the subjects of many are the old gods and kindred topics; but the compositions of a modern novelist would also be *fananga*. A name applied especially to tales of the old gods, creation myths, and the like, is *tala tupua*, which seems to mean either tale of the long ago or tale of mysterious powers, the divine, supernatural. There is a scrap of verse which may possibly refer to prize-giving for story-telling.

When the chiefs returned to the house they noticed the stench, and the Tui Tonga remarked that this was the work of the man they had seen at the pool. In the morning he sent a messenger bidding the man come to him at once; but Hauuta, disobeying the summons, collected his men, and set to work with them clearing the side of the road that led from Fahefa. Thus, whilst ostensibly working, they were able to command the road. Hauuta's orders were, that if anyone came along the road who belonged to Hihifo, he must not be molested; but if anyone came from the party of travelling chiefs he should be taken and killed. A man came along the road, and then a second; but neither of them belonged to the Tui Tonga's party. Then a third came, one of the Tui Tonga's men. Him they slew, and carried away; and when they had heated an oven they baked him, and it is said that he is still being baked. So that place is called Umutangata (oven, or meal, of man). 539  
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Pot-holes in some rocks at the extreme west of Tongatabu are ascribed to a Tui Tonga, who stood there giving his commands, and who, as he uttered his behests, kept smiting the rock with his staff. On another part of the coast of Tongatabu is a hole in a rock where the legendary hero Tui Motuliki, son of Sinailele, drove in a stake to which to moor his boat.

On the sea flats near Hofoa, in Tongatabu, is an isolated rock, considerably eroded at the base, called Moa (fowl). It is said that a fowl and a turtle (*fonu*) ran a race on the flats. The fowl was turned into the rock, and the turtle was turned into a pool a short distance away. 539  
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#### THE POOL HAAHAU

Haahau is a little pool in Felemea, in the island of Uiha in Haapai. This pool was a love gift from a god, or spirit, of Eua to a woman of Felemea. The god ordered the well to be dug close to a chestnut tree (*ifi*, *Inocarpus edulis*). It was covered with the shell of a *kema*, and the god warned the people that whenever they drew water they should carefully replace the shell when they had finished. This was always done, until, in more recent days, people said that covering the well-mouth with the shell was merely a piece of old-time foolishness. So the shell was thrown away; but after a few months the water, which had been perfectly sweet, became bitter, and has remained so ever since. At times the water is red, a sign that the woman of long ago, to whom the well was a love gift, is about to give birth to a child. 539  
823  
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#### THE WELL VEEMUMUNI

The well<sup>1</sup> Veemumuni in Vavau once belonged to a spirit. Nearby was the garden of a man, and the spirit used to lift the stone with which the

509 well was covered, and sit at the water's edge, watching the man at his  
829 work. One day the man noticed the spirit, and approached the well, but  
779 as he drew near the spirit disappeared into the water, and covered it with  
the rock. The man returned to his work, but presently he saw the spirit  
again sitting at the water's edge. He approached, but once more the  
spirit eluded him. This happened three times, and so the man knew that  
the stranger was a spirit. Then he took off his turban and girdle of  
leaves, and put them on a tree to make it look like a man, while he crept  
round to the place toward which the spirit had turned his back as he sat  
by the water. Presently the spirit came to view again, and the man  
sprang upon him, and held him fast until he begged for mercy, and  
promised to give the man his well. Since then the well has been un-  
covered, and the stone with which it was covered is still left lying beside it.

#### THE CAVE TAPINGAAMAMA

539 Tapingaamama (Human affairs, manners) is the name of a cave, in  
829 Tefisi in Vavau, through the walls of which there is considerable soakage.  
779 Two spirits, or demons (*tevolo*) live there, one being a *toke* (eel). A  
829 stranger once left his *vala* (kilt) in the cave while he went to bathe, and  
[109] when he came back he found the *vala* folded up with a rat inside it. The  
[269] rat also was a *tevolo*, presumably the second spirit of the cave. Many  
people are said to have been lost through the cannibals who lived there.

#### RELATIONS WITH PULOTU

##### ROAD TO PULOTU

775 Gifford (22, p. 153), has published a number of stories relating to  
journeys to Pulotu, abode of Hikuleo and of the souls of chiefs, an island  
somewhere out to the northwest, in which are Pukolea (Speaking-  
puko-tree) able to confer limitless favors, and the Vaiola (Water of life),  
into which it would seem that the souls of the dead were plunged, rising  
thence with eternal freshness and vigor. But, besides the far-off mystical  
island, there is another Pulotu, the Underworld, which is reached by jump-  
[829] ing into a crevice, or into the sea. Several localities are mentioned as  
Hala ki Pulotu (Road to Pulotu) which, like the jumping-off places of  
souls throughout so large a part of Polynesia, have a general westerly or  
539 northerly outlook.<sup>1</sup> In the first and sixth of the stories that follow, the  
779 hero plucks up a reed (*kaho*) with which the entrance of the road to  
775 Pulotu is closed. This detail of the reed is found in the story of the  
824 visits of Maui Atalanga and his son, Maui Kisikisi, to the Underworld,  
Lolofonua, during the time that they were living in Koloa, one of the

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islands of the Vavau group (14). The Underworld from which the Maui came, and to which they returned, is not, however, spoken of as Pulotu, but simply as Lolofonua. In the Tongan Creation Myth, indeed, Pulotu, the realm of Hikuleo, is distinct from Lolofonua, the abode of the Maui. (15, p. 276).

In Tongatabu, the road or a road—to Pulotu is said to have started from a spot called Haalako, on the weather shore near the village of Foui. This part of the coast faces to the west, and is in the western part of the island. One account would seem to make a pool (*pupu*) the actual entrance to the road, while another account says that the dead go to the water's edge, and jump into the sea. Down below there is said to be a great cave. Before going down to the water's edge the dead tear off a branch from the shrub called uhi (according to Pratt, *Evodia hortensis*) and presumably take the branch with them. This would seem to be the meaning of the expression *haaki ae uhi*, though possibly it might mean to pull the shrub up, or throw it down. In Haapai, however, the plant so used is not the *uhi*, but the *toa* which is so sturdy a tree that tearing off a branch is the only likely meaning. A road at Niuaunono, the north-western point of Tongatabu is named from a clump of coconut trees, according to native tradition where the traveller to Pulotu plucks up a reed, *kaho*. The *uhi*, which is *namu tevolo* (smelling of spirits), is one of the most potent of medicinal plants for curing demonic possession, and for preventing the wandering of ghosts from the graves of the dead (10, pp. 137-139). Thus it may be conjectured that the newly dead take branches of this shrub as a protection against the spirit dangers that await them. An old man told me that he remembered hearing in his childhood the expression "Kuo haaki ae uhi e sii eiki" (The poor chief has broken off the *uhi*) used in connection with a chief who had just died. He added the detail that at the time he heard a noise like that made by a whale beating the sea.

In Eua, which lies a little south of the extreme easterly point of Tongatabu, the road to Pulotu is said to commence in the sea between Eua and the tiny islet Kalau, just off the southern end of Eua. In Haapai the road to Pulotu seems to start in the crater of the volcanic island of Tofua, which, with the splendid cone of Kao standing close beside it, forms the western extremity of that group. "Kuo haaki ae toa" is said of the soul which makes its way to Pulotu by jumping into the crater of Tofua. Toa trees are planted about many cemeteries, though not by any means confined to such positions. They are "chiefly" trees, well suited to adorn any road or compound to which it is desired to give an aspect of nobility.



- 103 Umufi. An oven of Tahitian chestnuts [umu, earth oven; fi, Tahitian chestnut]. Tract near Koloval, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Ata, landlord.
- Umuka. An oven of fish [umu, earth oven; ka, fish]. Tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Umulivata. Tract on Lofanga island (H).
- Umu. Oven of fear [umu, oven; na, fear, respect]. Place near Folaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also island (V). Also tract on Vavau island (V). Location of Admiralty Coaling Ground near Ahanga boat passage between Vavau and Pangaimotu islands. Tracts near villages on Vavau island (V): near Tula, Utui—Velume, landlord, and Mataka.
- [773] Umumuni. The oven of Muni [umu, oven; o, of; muni, a legendary hero]. A hole in a rock on the shore of Hihifo district on Tongatabu island (T), alleged to have been used as an oven by hero Muni.
- Umui. Oven of al root [umu, earth oven; al, a plant]. Shore at terminus of road at lagoon shore nearest Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord.
- Umukitaki. Basket of cooked food carried in the hand [umu, basket of cooked food; takitaki, carry with one hand]. Tract near Maufanga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Fakafana, landlord.
- Umutaitunu. Basket of cooked food prepared for visitors by broiling and toasting [umu, basket of cooked food; tai, to prepare food for visitors; tunu, to toast, to broil]. Tract near Foul, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord.
- Umutangata. Oven of men [umu, earth oven; tangata, men]. Place in Hihifo district on Tongatabu island (T), near junction of three roads from the east. Here, according to one tale, the chief Vahai roasted commoners captured in war. Also tract near Nelafo, village on Vavau island (V).
- [773] Uui. Collected together. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafou island (NF).
- Unufi. Caterpillar. Tract in Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V).
- Ungakoa. To hide in the froth of the waves [unga, to hide, to be screened; koa, froth, foam]. A place on the edge of the cliffs of the weather side of Eua island (T), close to Tapatapao. The name is that of a huge mythical shell-fish pulled out of the rock and slain by Maui Kiofiki. The ungakoa dwelt in a big cleft in the rock. His flesh was in the rock and the rock was his shell.
- [773] Unganga. Crowded, full. Tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haatelho, landlord.
- Uofue. A cluster of fue shrubs [uo, an indiscriminate assembly; fue, a shrub]. Tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).
- Uoleva. Crowded at once [uo, an indiscriminate assembly; leva, at once]. Tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord. Also tract near Vaini, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Maafu, landlord. Also island (H). Possibly the name refers to the people assembled here by the Tui Tonga's representative Matavave to build pigeon mounds. Also two tracts near Hihifo and Pangai, villages on Lifaka island (H).
- Uonuku. An indiscriminate assembly of lands [uo, an indiscriminate assembly; nuku, land]. Tract near Matahau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Felema, village on Uia island (H).
- Uonukuhihifo. Western Uonuku [uo, see preceding; hihifo, western]. Tract near Felema, village on Uia island (H).
- Upolu. Samoan Upolu. The Tongan equivalent is Kupolu. Tract near Angaha, village on Niuafou island (NF).
- Uta. Inland. Tract near Haavakatolo, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Aho-mee, landlord. Also tract near Ngaunoho, village on Utungake island (V). Also tract near Petani, village on Niuafou island (NF).

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- Utalofanga.** Land of many landing places [uta, land; lo, many; fanga, landing place]. Tract on Haafeva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.
- Utamotahi.** Land and sea [uta, land; mo, and; tahi, sea]. Tract near Utulau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Lofanga island (H). Also tract near Uihā, village on Uihā island (H)—Malupo, landlord. Also tract near Utui, village on Vavau island (V)—Ahomee, landlord.
- Utatonu.** Fixed land [uta, land; tonu, fixed]. Tract on Lofanga island (H).
- Utavavau.** Land of Vavau [uta, land; vavau, an island of the Vavau group]. Tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka island (H).
- Utongau.** To chew the juice out of the spongy kernel of the coconut when germinating [ute, spongy kernel of the coconut when germinating; ngau, to chew the juice out of anything]. Tract near Utungake, village on Utungake island (V)—Tuita, landlord.
- Utu.** To carry. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Teeklu—Motuapuaka, landlord, Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, and Haakame. Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H). Also tract near Multoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Utua.** Ebb tide. Tract near Haalaufu, village on Vavau island (V)—Afu Haalau-fu, landlord.
- Utuafo.** Overcooked utu fish [utu, a fish; afu, overcooked]. Pool. Uncertain if on Vavau island; at least in Vavau group.
- Utuka.** To gather the aka shrub [utu, to gather in; aka, a shrub]. Tracts in and near Natafonua, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.
- Utualet.** Perpendicular shore where people meet, to converse together [utu, perpendicular shore; alea, to converse together]. Tract near Holopeka, village on Lifuka island (H)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Utuanifo.** Horns or teeth at ebb tide [utus, ebb tide; nifo, horn, tooth], perhaps in reference to exposed jagged rocks. Tract near Angaha, village on Nuafoou island (NF). Also another tract on Nuafoou island (NF).
- Utuaŋglaŋg.** Perpendicular shore where the breeze springs up [utu, perpendicular shore; ŋglaŋg, to spring up as a breeze]. Tract near Nukualofa, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Utuatea.** To have a whitish reflection like glass [utus, to reflect as glass; tea, whitish, light in color]. Tract near Napua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract and peninsula near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord.
- Utufakatoka.** To run ashore at a perpendicular cliff [utu, perpendicular, as the weather shore of Vavau; fakatoka, to run ashore, to ground]. Tract near Multoa, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord.
- Utufufu.** To draw water secretly [utu, to draw water; fufu, secretly]. Fresh-water on Tongatabu island (T). On the weather shore.
- Utui.** To shelter the king [u, to shelter; tui, king]. Village on Vavau island (V).
- Utukakai.** Populous perpendicular cliff [utu, perpendicular cliff; kakai, populous]. Place on Eua (?) island (T).
- Utukakala.** Rocky shore of sweet-scented flowers [utu, rocky shore; kakala, sweet-scented flowers]. Tract near Uihā, village on Uihā island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Utukalongalu.** The shore that avoids the dangerous waves [utu, shore; kalo, to avoid danger; ngalu, waves]. An underground stream on Vavau island (V).
- Utukape.** Perpendicular place with kape leaves [utu, perpendicular place; kape, the plant (*Arum costatum*)]. A place below the plateau of Moko on Eua island (T). There dwelt the hero Tuutaki, who fought and destroyed the people of his wife's brothers who lived near the eastern shore of Eua. Tuutaki made
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- holes in the rock and covered them with kape leaves, hence the name Utukape. When his enemies trod on these places they fell into the holes, Tuutaki came and slew them. (For the sequel see the place names Veefefe and Koloutakape).
- Utukaunga.** Fellow workman in carrying [utu, to carry; kaunga, fellow, associate]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Utukehe.** Different perpendicular shore [utu, perpendicular shore; kehe, different]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T). Also tract near Fouli, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vahai, landlord. Also tract near Pea, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Lavaka, landlord.
- Utukeufe.** Tract on Ofolanga island (H).
- Utuku.** Stinking utu fish [utu, a fish; ku, to stink]. Tract near Mataaho, village on Niuafuon island (NF).
- Utukumi.** To carry two sheets of black tapa [utu, to carry; kumi, two sheets of black tapa]. Tract near Haakame, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Utulaa.** Sunny perpendicular cliff [utu, pendicular cliff; laa, sunny]. Tract on Fetoa island (H).
- Utulaaina.** Sunburnt perpendicular cliff [utu, perpendicular cliff; laaina, sunburnt]. Tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Pangai, village on Pangaimotu island (V).
- Utulahi.** A large rocky shore [utu, rocky; lahi, large]. Tract and district on Lofanga island (H).
- Utulalo.** Rocks below [utu, rocks; lalo, below]. Tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).
- Utulangivaka.** Tract in Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T).
- Utulau.** Talking rocks [utu, rocks; lau, to talk] in this case the sound of waves striking the rocks. Village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Oua island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Utulei.** Ivory cliff [utu, cliff; lei, ivory]. Village on Pangaimotu island (V).
- Utulele.** To draw water and run [utu, to draw water; lele, to run]. Tract on Haaveva island (H)—Tuuhetoka, landlord.
- Utuleva.** To fetch at once [utu, to fetch; leva, at once]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Utulifuka.** Perpendicular bank, where the hair is lashed together in imitation of the Fijians [utu, perpendicular bank; li, to lash together; fuka, to dress the hair in imitation of the Fajians]. Perhaps at places of this name was the reddish earth used in washing the hair. A place on the south bank of the Vaitaki, an artificial channel, on Eua island (T). Teeveka hill stands opposite Utulifuka on the north bank of the Vaitaki. Also place near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T), a chief's place.
- Utuloa.** Long rocky snore [utu, rocky shore; loa, long]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also tract near Angaha, village on Niuafuon island (NF).
- Utuloko.** Very perpendicular [utu, perpendicular; loko, very]. Tract near Haateiho, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Haateiho, landlord. Also tract near Pukotala, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also tract near Fataulus, village on Niuafuon island (NF).
- Utulongo.** Peaceful rocky shore [utu, rocky shore; longo, peaceful]. Tract near Abau, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Tefisi, village on Vavau island (V)—Luani, landlord.
- Utulongoa.** Nolsy rocks [utu, rocks; longoaa, nolsy]. Beach near Heketa where the Tui Tonga formerly dwelt, near Nlutoua, village on Tongatabu island (T).

- 103 Valoia. The living water [val, water; oia, alive]. Stream on Eua island (T). In a Tongan tale is mentioned a pool of the same name in Samoa, the sacred pool of the goddess Hina. Another Valoia is the lake situated in Pulotu, the land of the departed, over which the god Hikuleo holds sway. Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H).
- [776] Valomanu. Water of the animal [val, water; o, of; manu, animal]. Tract near Tuaneikivale, village on Vavau island (V).
- [775] Valomisi. Water of dreams [val, water; o, of; misi, dream]. Tract near Otea, village on Kapa island (V).
- Valomoho. Water of the rill [val, water; o, of; moho, the rill (*Ortygometra tabuensis*)]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Valopa. Stream of slopping [val, stream; o, of; pa, to slop]. Tract near Lapaha, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Pangia, landlord.
- Valpaha. Water that breaks out [val, water; paha, to break out]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Valpakola. Water of low commoners [val, water; pakola, a Fijian term signifying "low commoner"; also used as an exclamation with the meaning, "Die, you wretches"]. Tract near Tuanuku, village on Vavau island (V)—Ulukalala, landlord.
- Valpapa. Smooth water [val, water; papa, even, smooth]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.
- Valpoa. Water with the smell of fish [val, water; poa, the smell of fish]. Two tracts near Nukualofa and Fofaha, villages on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract near Hihifo, village on Lifuka island (H). Also tract near Lotofoa, village on Foa island (H)—Tui Pelehako, landlord. Also tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V). Also tract near Makave, village on Vavau island (V)—Tui Afitu, landlord. Also tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V). Also the name of a mythical bit of sea water formerly at Haakio. It was carried away in the mouth of a god and finally deposited at Tufumahina, Tongatabu island. Also village on Niuatoputapu island (NT). Also tract near Tongamamao, village on Niuatoputapu island (NF).
- [773] Valposuta. Inland Valpoa [uta, inland]. Tract near Haakio, village on Vavau island (V).
- Valpua. Seaweed water [val, water; pua, a seaweed]. Tract near Neiafu, village on Vavau island (V).
- Valpulu. Water covered with coconut husks [val, water; pulu, the husk of the coconut]. Tract near Valpoa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord. Also tract on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Tangipa, landlord. Also tract on Niuatoputapu island (NF).
- Valpuua. The two spouting streams [val, stream; pu, to spout; ua, two]. A long arm of the sea extending far north into Vavau island (V) and dividing the island into an eastern and a western part.
- Valsil. Little water [val, water; sil, little]. Tract on Niuatoputapu island (NF).
- Valalo. Water of the sio shellfish [val, water; alo, a shellfish]. Tract near Taosa, village on Vavau island (V).
- Valaloata. Mirroring water [val, water; aloata, anything which reflects the image]. Well on Uoleva island (II). Beside the pigeon mound called Siakulufotu (or Siakulufotu).
- Valaisi. Water of the si-leaf dress [val, water; sisi, a dress for working in, made from the leaves of the si plant]. Tract near Tatakamotonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tungi, landlord.
- Valtafa. Brook. Stream on weather shore of Tongatabu island (T).

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Vaupula. To scrape the pula shrub [vau, to scrape; pula, a shrub]. Tract on Niuafuon island (NF)—Fotosili, landlord. 103

Vavae. The cotton plant. Tract near Koloua, village on Tongatabu island (T). Also two tracts near Tefai—Luani, landlord, and Holonga, villages on Vavau island (V).

Vavau. Two tracts near Nukualofa and Hol, villages on Tongatabu island (T). Also tract on Tungua island (H)—Tui Haateho, landlord. Also tract near Holopoka, village on Lifuka island (H)—Tui Aftu, landlord. Also tract near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H). Also tract near Haano, village on Haano island (H)—Tui Haangana, landlord. Also island (V). The northern group of islands in the Tongan archipelago.

Vavea. Quick. Tract near Houma, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Vaea, landlord.

Vavelotu. Prayers said quickly [vave, quick; lotu, prayer]. Tract near Uiha, village on Uiha island (H)—Malupo, landlord.

Veefefe. The spraying water [vee, water; fefe, to spray]. A group of eight scattered springs at the foot of the precipitous rock Koloutakape, on Eua island (T). The origin of these springs forms a sequel to the fight of Tuutaki with his wife's brother, mentioned under the place name Utukape. After Tuutaki had slain his wife's relatives he went to rest at the edge of a neighboring high cliff. He stuck his two-pointed spear, called tamataua, into the ground at the edge of the cliff and rested against it with his back to the precipice. He then called to his wife to bring him a drink. She brought him but a little water to drink and as he bent his head back to drain the cup, she pushed him over the precipice. He seized her and they fell together. He was impaled on a tree, but she fell to the rocks. The little water left in the coconut shell cup slashed into eight places, and from it arose the eight springs called Veefefe. According to another version the springs appeared where eight fragments of the coconut cup struck. 103 773

Veengangana. Spilt water, in reference to myth of its having been spilt from mouth of a god who was carrying it [vee, water; ngangana, to spill]. Water near Makave, village on Vavau island (V).

Vespuaki. Water of the pueki shellfish [vee, water; pueki, a shellfish]. A small upland lake in red soil in deep depression on Eua island (T). 103

Vetoki. Water of the toki shellfish [vee, water; toki, a shellfish]. Tract near Vaiposa, village on Niuatoputapu island (NT)—Maatu, landlord.

Vehivehikal. Trying to eat. Tract near Nukuhitulu, village on Tongatabu island (T).

Velali. Water of the ali fish [vel, water; ali, a fish]. Tract near Ohonua, village on Eua island (T).

Velanga. Place where fish are supposed to die from the heat of the sun [vela, dead fish supposed to die from the heat of the sun; anga, place]. Tract near Vaotuu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Tui Vakano, landlord.

Velata. Reflecting water [vel, water; ata, to reflect as a mirror]. Tract near Kolonga, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Nuku, landlord. Also tract near Holonga, village on Vavau island (V).

Veifili. Chosen water [vel, water; fili, to choose]. Tract near Teekiu, village on Tongatabu island (T)—Motuapuka, landlord.

Velfoa. Broken sheet of water [vel, water; foa, to make an opening]. Tracts near villages on Tongatabu island (T): near Vaotuu—Tui Vakano, landlord, Veltongo, Holonga, and Hamula—Pangia, landlord. Also tract and district near Fakakakai, village on Haano island (H).



# TONGAN MYTHOLOGY AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TONGANS

127 Though it is premature for a detailed comparison of Tongan mythology  
171 with other Polynesian mythologies, the writer has attempted a rough ap-  
121 proximation of the affinities of Tongan mythology to the mythologies of  
the great areas of the Pacific as presented in Roland B. Dixon's "Oceanic  
Mythology."<sup>a</sup>

127 Having Tongan mythology quite thoroughly in mind, Dixon's book on  
128 Oceanic mythology was read and a check mark entered in the margin wher-  
ever an episode appeared to have a Tongan parallel. If error was made  
it was on the side of entering too many check marks, for undoubtedly some  
of the episodes checked as having Tongan parallels, in truth have not, as  
the resemblance in certain instances was rather remote. Upon completing  
171 the book it was found that there were sixty-seven check marks in the Poly-  
nesian part, forty-eight in the Indonesian, twenty-seven in the Micronesian,  
ten in the Melanesian, and six in the Australian. These figures undoubt-  
edly represent in a rough fashion the affinities of Tongan mythology. It  
was to be expected that resemblances to Polynesia would be numerous, and  
undoubtedly when the other members of the Bayard Dominick Expedition  
have published their reports the number of resemblances will be materially  
increased.

The number of parallels between Indonesia and Tonga are astonishingly  
large, being more than four times the number that are found between Tonga  
and Melanesia. Many of the resemblances between Tonga and Indonesia  
are so specific that it is hard to believe they are merely accidental. In  
fact, the high number of resemblances, forty-eight, would preclude accident  
as the sole factor, especially when contrasted with only ten resemblances  
between Tonga and adjacent Melanesia.

171 The paucity of the Micronesian material undoubtedly accounts for the  
128 fact that only twenty-seven resemblances were found between it and  
Tongan material. On the other hand, allowing for the scarcity of  
Micronesian material, this is a fairly high figure and would seem to indi-  
cate that the connection between Tonga and Indonesia is by way of  
Micronesia rather than Melanesia.

174 The Tongan myths and tales in themselves throw a little light on the  
773 geographic aspect of Tongan origins.

538 In looking over the field of Tongan mythology, one is struck by the  
frequency of derivation of plants and fishes from Samoa, from the sky,  
and from Pulotu (the land of the gods), and by the absence of allusions  
to Fiji as a place from which useful plants and animals have been derived.

[113]

<sup>a</sup>Dixon, Roland B., *The mythology of all races: Oceanic*, vol. 9, Boston, 1916.



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9

It seems to me that this very absence of mention of Fiji is negative evidence of the relatively late contact with Fiji. On the other hand, the references to Samoa indicate an early contact with that group, which in the Maui tale, even furnishes the fishhook with which the island of Tongatabu is hauled to the surface. It seems to me, too, that these facts have a bearing on the theory of the probable route of migration of the Tongans; or to state more nearly what is in my mind, that they give us some clue as to the direction from which the Tongans came; probably not by wholesale migration, but by gradual infiltration. The negative evidence of the myths and tales makes it clear that it was not Fiji, and that Fiji did not lie in their route of travel to their present habitat. The positive evidence of the myths and tales, on the other hand, makes it very clear that Samoa lay in the line of travel, and that undoubtedly when heaven and Pulotu are referred to, it is lands beyond Samoa which are meant. 174  
[773]

The points just adduced from the preceding myths and tales, therefore, would seem to support the theory that the Tongans have entered their present territory by way of Micronesia, rather than by way of Melanesia. The idea of the Polynesians entering their island homes by way of Micronesia rather than Melanesia, was proclaimed as early as 1799 in the Voyage of the Duff, where on pages 85 and 86 of the Preliminary Discourse, the following is set forth:

"It must not, however, be omitted, that people of the same race with the natives of the groups [Tahiti, Tonga, Marquesas] we have described, are dispersed over the Ladrone and Caroline islands, which lie north of the Equator, and extend from the 130th to the 175th degree of east longitude; and they have reached from the latter group, or from some intermediate places not yet discovered, to the Sandwich islands, which are situated between 155° and 160° west longitude, and 19° and 22° north latitude. Crossing the Equator, probably from the more eastern of the Caroline islands, they have spread over the clusters of which we have given an account, and from the Friendly islands have reached the large country of New Zealand, \_\_\_\_\_; while from Otaheite, or some of the islands south-east of it, they have made a surprising stretch to the solitary spot called Easter Island. The language and customs of this widely scattered nation have been traced to the coasts of the great Asiatic islands, Luzon and Borneo, and from thence to the peninsula of Malacca, the Aurea Chersonesus, beyond which the geographical knowledge of the ancients can hardly be said to have extended. The astonishing migrations of this race seem to have originated, like those of the northern Europeans, from designs of conquest. These they carried into effect on the coasts of the grand Asiatic archipelago, driving back the black natives of those very extensive islands to the interior mountains which they still occupy as a distinct and independent people. But the migrations of the fairer race from the Philippine islands to the Carolines, and farther eastward, have almost to a certainty been occasioned by stress of weather, which drove their canoes from island to island, and from one group to another, that had not before been peopled. Frequent incidents of this nature have been ascertained, and some of them have been specified in our account of the islands connected with Otaheite. The population of islands so widely scattered, cannot, for the greater part be otherwise explained, either upon the ground of established fact, or upon that probable conjecture." 174  
101

174 Certain features of Tongan mythology appear to bear on the internal  
history of the country.

● 773 538 The localization of the Maui adventures in the Vavau and Tongatabu  
groups, to the exclusion of the Haapai group, is probably more than mere  
accident. Moreover the Maui tale appears to be a composite of two separate  
local cycles, one of which makes Koloa in the Vavau group their residence,  
the other of which makes Eua in the Tongatabu group their residence.  
The fact should not be overlooked in this connection that Mariner states  
that Tangaloa was the god who drew the Tonga islands from the deep to  
the surface of the waters.<sup>4</sup>

In Haapai the place of Maui is largely filled by the hero Muni, whose  
exploits somewhat resemble Maui's. Peculiar also to Haapai are the stories  
of the Son of the Sun.

174 The mythological position of Haapai is partly paralleled in place names.  
[103] Haapai and Tongatabu have 425 names in common, Vavau and Tongatabu  
446, but Vavau and Haapai only 168. Both the mythological and ethno-  
geographical evidence point to an aloofness of Haapai anciently, particularly  
in respect to Vavau.

Tongatabu is pre-eminent both ethnogeographically and mythologically.

[103] In an ethnogeographic sense it was the center from which influence flowed  
both to Haapai and Vavau, judging by the hundreds of place names it  
holds in common with these two groups. Mythologically, it is the islands

174 of Ata and Tongatabu that are hauled first to the surface of the waters  
773 by the Maui. Men, too, were created in the Tongatabu group and further-  
more, the first Tui Tonga was the son of a woman of Tongatabu by a  
divine mate, the god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. Even the hero Muni, although  
he spent his boyhood in Haapai, was of Tongatabuan origin and performed  
in Tongatabu his doughtiest deeds.

[113] <sup>4</sup>Martin, John, M.D. An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific  
Ocean, with an original grammar and vocabulary of their language. Compiled and arranged from  
the extensive communications of Mr. William Mariner, several years resident in those islands.  
In two volumes. Vol. 2, pp. 116, 121, 1817 edition, London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1817.

FISON'S "TALES FROM OLD FIJI"

Lorimer Fison's *Tales from Old Fiji*<sup>a</sup> include a number of stories which have Tongan parallels. As Fison's collection is from eastern Fiji, a region with much Tongan blood in its population, the parallels are to be expected. Of the twelve tales he presents, six are matched by the Tongan tales presented in this paper. Two others refer specifically to Tonga, but have no parallels in my collection. Of these two, one concerns Napoleon. The second concerns "The Beginning of Death" and was told by the famous Tongan chief Maafu, whose military operations in Fiji in the last century won him renown. 171 538 [113] [144] 538

Maafu's version of the origin of death, to wit: that certain gods came from Pulu to dwell in Tongatabu and there became mortal and subject to disease and death, was not encountered in any of the tales which I gathered in Tonga. The same motive, however, is recorded in Mariner's work on Tonga\*. Included in Maafu's tale, as a necessary preliminary to mortal existence, is the land-fishing of Maui, whereby Ata and Tongatabu are hauled from the depths. Then Tongatabu becomes the home of the runaway gods of Pulu, who become mortal. Maafu's tale conveys a striking picture of the spiteful character of Hikuleo, who becomes the lord of Pulu, after Tangaloa goes to the sky and Maui goes under Tongatabu to keep it from sinking. Although many details in Maafu's story occur in other Tongan tales, for example, the "water of life" and the "tree of speech," Maafu's particular combination of details and episodes is unique. 538 773

Fison's Fijian tales unquestionably are, in large measure, nothing but Tongan tales. Fison points out that many of his tales are notable for their Fijian coloring in spite of their dealing with Tongan characters. He mentions especially the story of Longapoa, and stresses the references to cannibalism. On the whole, references to cannibalism are rather scarce in Tongan tales. 538 171

It seems legitimate to regard Fison's tales and my collection as two branches from a single Tongan trunk, branches which separated from the parent stem many generations ago. Each has since pursued its growth with a fair degree of independence. On the one hand, Fison's transplanted tales flourished in a new environment, where they were to a considerable extent influenced by Fijian ideas. On the other hand, the tales which were ultimately collected by me continued to develop in their own native environment. However, intercourse between Tonga and Fiji (especially the Tongan colonists in Fiji) was probably but seldom inter- 538 171 174

<sup>a</sup> De la More Press, London, 1907.

\* Martin, *op. cit.* vol. 2, p. 126.

COSMOGONY

773 Tongan cosmogony, unlike some other Polynesian cosmogonies, does not tell of a void in the beginning, but instead tacitly assumes the pre-existence of the sky, the sea, and the land of Pulotu (the home of the souls of departed chiefs).  
171

113 The Tongan creation myth has happily been published in both Tongan and French by Father Reiter.<sup>13</sup> In 1910 Josiah Martin<sup>14</sup> published a portion of the Tongan creation story in which the fishing up of the island of Tongatabu is related. Reverend E. E. V. Collocott<sup>15</sup> has published a free translation of the account of the origin of the gods and of the world. Creation myths have also been published in the Tongan language.<sup>16</sup>

128 In the present paper only the variants of these published accounts are recorded.

114 The account by Father Reiter and that by Collocott disagree as to the paternity of the Maui, the former naming the god Taufulifonua as the father, the latter the god Biki (Piki). The manuscript of J. P. Maatu agrees with Father Reiter's account in proclaiming Taufulifonua the father of the Maui. But Maatu's manuscript goes further and lists them as Maui Loa, Maui Puku, and Maui Atalanga. Collocott lists them as Maui-motua, Maui-buku, and Maui Atulanga.  
776

114 Again Maatu's manuscript is specific where the published accounts are not. It states that the particular sort of *kiu* (snipe or plover), in which  
773 Tangaloa Atulolongongo became incarnate in his search for land, was the *tulione*. A second version in Maatu's manuscripts is not so specific. It does, however, state that the writers of the version were Kelekele and Tokemoana, who with Tongavalevale and the Tamaha Amelia were the writers of a similar account that I obtained from Jonathan Fonua of Neiafu, Vavau.

773 In the Tongan cosmogonical tales there is no hint of the creation of the sea, sky, sun, moon or stars. Their preëxistence is either stated or tacitly assumed.

539 The account of the origin of the gods in the old manuscript in the possession of Mr. John Panuve Maatu describes the origin of sexual intercourse by the twin deities Taufulifonua (male) and Havea Lolofonua (female): "And Piki and Kele made a new country which they named Tonga Mamao (Distant Tonga) and took their children Taufulifonua and Havea Lolofonua

<sup>13</sup> Reiter, P., *Traditions tonguiennes*, Anthropos, vol. 2, pp. 230-236, 438-443; 743-750, 1907.

<sup>14</sup> Martin, Josiah, *Origin of the name of Tonga Island*: Jour. Poly. Soc., vol. 19, pp. 163-166, 1910.

<sup>15</sup> Collocott, E. E. V., *A Tongan theology*: Folk-Lore, vol. 30, pp. 234-238, 1919.

<sup>16</sup> (1) By Taufapulotu, Koe tupuaga o mamani mo hono laka, Koe Fafaga, vol. 4, pp. 122-127, 1906; (2) By the Tamaha, Kelekele, Tokemoana, and Tongavalevale, the origin tale, published in Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 4, pp. 22-26, 51-55, 74-78, 1881-1883; (3) Koe talanoa ki Eua, Koe Makasini a Koliji, vol. 4, pp. 109-111, 1881-1883.

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there. But not yet did those two know each other. They were still innocent and went about naked, for they were not ashamed. So it was until one day when they went to bathe in the sea and were lying face downwards with their feet in the water. The tide was flooding and began to break upon their feet. On and on it came, until it covered their bodies. *Subito piscis qui oo appellabatur, unda adlapsus cunnum puellae exhauriebat.* She was in pain and cried and kicked her feet about in the sand, because of the suffering caused by the oo's sucking. Neither she nor her brother knew what to do to relieve her agony. *Molliter cunnum manu mulcebat; reque tamen ex eo puella quam minimum solatium cepit. Denique penem inseruit et ex eo magnum solatium cepit.* That was the beginning of their knowledge and they cohabited regularly thereafter." 539

Garbled verbal accounts of the cosmogony were obtained from various informants. In one of these, the three human beings created from the maggot or worm are designated as a man, a woman, and a third person. The woman is called Kohai, the man Momo, and the name of the third was forgotten. The three names, however, are assigned a mystic significance, Kohai standing for the future, Momo for the present, and the third name for the past. This is probably a connotation introduced solely by the raconteur, James Lilo, of Lotofoa, Foa island, Haapai. 773 539 [124]

In certain of the accounts a clear distinction is made between the islands fished up by the Maui (Tongatabu, Haapai, Vavau, Niua, and Samoa) and those which they did not fish up.

"They did not fish up Kao, Tofua, Hunga Haapai, Hunga Tonga, Late, or Fonualei [all volcanic islands]. Nor was all of Fiji fished up. The countries that were not fished up were thrown down from heaven. Therefore they are called the land-stones (*makafonua*) of Hikuleo, the maker of all the countries that are full of unevenness, that jump backward and forward [i.e., are subject to earthquakes] and that are full of holes and pits, for they are the countries which were not fished up by the Maui."

A brief version of the Maui land-fishing story told by Lie, a man of Koulo, Lifuka island, Haapai, makes Eua the starting point of the expedition, makes the woman, who becomes enamoured of one of the Maui, the daughter of the hook owner instead of his wife, and makes the first land hauled up Rarotonga instead of Tokelau.

An important text dealing with the origin of the wind and of various food plants forms a sequel to the tale about the creation of man on Ata. This text, which might appropriately have formed part of the series published by Father Reiter in *Anthropos*, was courteously placed at my disposal by the Right Reverend Bishop Joseph Felix Blanc of Tonga. Because of the importance of the tale I present the original Tongan text as 539 [127] [128]



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Pea o hifo leva ae hopa mei langi, ke tuu i Ata. Ko hono hingoae oe hopa koia, koe putalinga, koe hopa fungani lelei; ka oku ikai ha hopa ilaloni; ka koe tupu mei langi ae hopa koe putalinga. Pea toki movete ai o tuu kotoape i he fonua kehekehe; ka koe o hifo mei langi o fua tuu i Ata. Koe ngoue o Laufakanaa, pea o hifo ai leva moe akau, koe si, hono hingoae. Aeni oku tao hono foha o ngau, pea ngaahi aki ae ma o hingoae koe poopooi, pea ngaahiaki ai mea kai kehekehe; he koe akau oku lelei, pea aonga; he oku kau foki ki he ngaahi mea kai kotcape.

Pea o hifo foki ae ufi; ko hono hingoae koe nguata, koe o hifo ia ke tuu i Ata. Pea o hifo foki ae ufi e taha, koe tuaata, hono hingoae, o o hifo foki ia o tuu i Ata. He koe ngaahi akau kai koia, koe tupu mei Ata. Pea koe toki fakatupu kehekehe e ngaahi tevolo nihi ae meakai kehekehe. He kou osi ae talanoa ki Ata.

And the native banana was brought down from the sky and planted at Ata. The name of that banana is *putalinga*, a very nice banana; there was no banana here below, but originally there came from the sky the banana *putalinga*. Then it was scattered and it grew in all the different lands; however it came from the sky and first grew at Ata. Its (appearance on earth) was the work of Laufakanaa, and (he) also brought the plant called *si*. The root of this is baked and chewed, and is also cooked with native bread, and is called *poopooi*, and other kinds of food are made from it; because it is a very good root, and useful; therefore it is used in many kinds of food.

And the yam was brought down also; its name is *nguata*, and it was brought down to plant at Ata. And was brought down another yam, called *tuaata*, which was planted at Ata. All these food plants grew first on Ata. And then some of the gods created other kinds of food plants. That is all of the narrative about Ata.

The printed Tongan tales of the origin of the first Tongan land do not make it clear whether the Ata island, which the myths designate together with Eua island as the first land, is the low Ata island lying a few miles north of Tongatabu or the lofty and probably volcanic Ata or Pylstaart island lying more than fifty miles south of Tongatabu. Collocott maintains that it is the adjacent island that is meant and several elderly natives whom I interviewed held the same view. Among these natives were two former inhabitants of the distant Ata or Pylstaart. Furthermore, Tongan legends place the discovery of Pylstaart only a few generations ago.

On the other hand, Bishop Blanc<sup>17</sup> takes the stand that it is the distant Ata or Pylstaart that is referred to in the myths, thus making the two first created lands (Eua and Ata) both lofty in contradistinction to the low-lying Tongatabu, later hauled to the surface with Maui's fish hook. Commander Wilkes, U.S.N.,<sup>18</sup> and the Reverend Walter Lawry<sup>19</sup> explicitly state (both from the same missionary source) that the Ata referred to is Pylstaart. No modern native evidence supports these assertions. However, Maafu's account<sup>20</sup> of the land-fishing of the Maui makes mention of

<sup>17</sup> P. Soane Malia, *Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique*, chapter 3, Librairie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte, 1910, Lyon, Paris.

<sup>18</sup> Wilkes, Charles, U.S.N., *Narrative of the U. S. Expl. Exped., 1838-1842*, vol. 3, p. 22, Philadelphia, 1845.

<sup>19</sup> Lawry, Walter, *Friendly and Feejee Islands*, 2nd ed., p. 113, London, 1850.

<sup>20</sup> Fison, Lorimer, *Tales from Old Fiji*, page 144, London, 1907.



539 mountains on the Ata that was hauled from the sea: "And leaping ashore,  
 773 he [Maui] sprang to the top of the highest mountain, and stamped upon it with his feet. And, as he stamped, the earth shook, and the mountain crumbled away beneath his feet, and rolled down into the valleys below, till they were filled up to the level on which he stood. This he did to four of the seven hills, leaving the other three untrampled, for he grew weary of the work."

When Tongatabu was hauled to the surface, Maui trod down all of the hills<sup>10</sup> "into rich and fertile plains; on which, even as he trod, there sprang up grass and flowers and trees, while the earth swelled into hillocks round his feet, bursting with yams, and sweet potatoes, and all manner of food." Here we have an origin of the food plants quite different from that set forth in the tales that I obtained. The sky, foreign lands, and a buried human body are the sources given in the tales here published.

539 The concept of multiple skies is found in Tonga and is clearly set forth  
 772 in a recitative (*fakanina*) given by the crippled man Taufu, and in the archives of the Methodist church by Dr. J. E. Moulton. The Tongan text, with a translation by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker, follows:

Ke fanongo mai e tama hiva ni,  
 Kae fai siemanu lau langi:  
 Langi tuo taha, langi tuo ua  
 Teke e Maui ke maolunga,  
 Kau eua fakamofutofuta;  
 Ko hotau fonua oku ua,  
 Ko langi ni pea mo lolofonua.  
 Langi tuo tolu, langi tuo fa,  
 Nofu ai a ufua mo lata,  
 Koe langi kehe langi uha  
 Ne ne ufua langi maa.  
 Langi tuo nima, langi tuo ono,  
 Nofu ae laa mate toto,

Sii fetuu ene fakaholo  
 Ne hange ha tuinga tokotoko;  
 Pea hanga hake ki ai e nofo.

Langi tuo fitu, langi tuo valu,  
 Nofu ai a Hina mo Sinilau;  
 Koe langi ape e tamutamu  
 Ha mea e leo lahi ange fau,  
 Oka ita oka longolongo tau,  
 Langi tuo hiva, tuo hongofulu,  
 Koe langi ne fufufulu motuku,  
 Koe langi ape oku unlu,  
 Kae fefei e talauku.

Listen, O poet,  
 While I tell of the skies:  
 First sky and second sky  
 Pushed by Maui to be high,  
 So that I could walk stately;  
 Our lands are two,  
 The sky and the underworld.  
 Third sky and fourth sky,  
 Dwell there the covered and inclosed,  
 The different sky, the sky that rains  
 And that hides the cloudless sky.  
 Fifth sky and sixth sky,  
 Dwells there the sun, who dies in crim-  
 son,  
 The little stars moving in succession  
 Like a string of walking-sticks;  
 And look up to them the dwellers on  
 earth.

Seventh sky and eighth sky,  
 Dwell there Hina and Sinilau;  
 The sky of the thunder  
 With a great loud voice,  
 When angry or giving omen of war.  
 The ninth sky and the tenth,  
 The sky feathery like herons,  
 The sky of uncertain rumbling,  
 Perhaps telling of parting.

[173] The three following short cosmogonical tales obtained from living Tongans are of interest. The first is really a divine genealogy and was told

# TALES ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES

538  
773  
823 Tales accounting for the location of certain islands are commonly current in Tonga today. A number of islands like Tanoa, mentioned in the preceding tale, are described as portions of other islands that have been removed by thievish gods and dropped in their present position. Certain rocks are said to be transformed people who usually made the transformation to escape a pursuer or because of chagrin over failure to accomplish an undertaking. Other islands are said to have been brought forth by a goddess.

171  
(538)  
[773] The episode of gods stealing the top of a mountain but dropping it upon the approach of dawn occurs also in the Society islands in reference to a rock near the island of Eimeo. The following paragraph<sup>10</sup> with Tongan names substituted would describe the episode as it repeatedly occurs in Tongan tales:

"They entertain a high idea of the power of spirits. In the beautiful and romantic view of Taloo harbour the remarkable peaked mountain is said to be but a part of the original one. Some spirits from Ulietea had broken off the other half and were transporting it down the bay, in order to carry it away with them, but, being overtaken by the break of day, they were obliged to drop it near the mouth of the harbour, where it now stands conspicuous as a rock; for, like the elves and fairies of our ancestors, these spirits walk and work by night."

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## THE ORIGIN OF ISLANDS

### THE ORIGIN OF TANOA ISLAND<sup>11</sup>

This story is about the little island of Tanoa which was formerly situated in the middle of the lagoon of Nomuka and which a god named Haelefeke, from the Otutolu islands where he lived, came and stole from the middle of the lagoon.

He started to take it to the Otutolu, but as he came opposite Fonoifua island, Tafakula went and turned his anus from the direction from which the sun rises. When Haelefeke saw the light from Tafakula's anus in the east, he thought the sun was rising and dropped the island and ran away. That is how the little island of Tanoa comes to be standing beside Fonoifua.

For another version of this tale see pages 86 and 87.

[113]

<sup>10</sup> A missionary voyage to the southern Pacific ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship *Duff*, commanded by Captain James Wilson, page 335, 1799, London.

<sup>11</sup> Told by John Hafoka, of Nomuka island, Haapai.

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THE ORIGIN OF NUKUNAMU ISLAND<sup>73</sup>

The small island of Nukunamu lies between the islands of Foa and Haano in the Haapai group. Tongan mythology has it that Nukunamu was originally a piece of land which filled the site of a swamp on Foa. The manner in which this piece of land came to be the island of Nukunamu is related as follows:

Two gods from Samoa, Haelefeke and another, came to Haapai. They stole a piece of land from the island of Foa, leaving a great hollow where they removed it. This hollow is occupied by the swamp now known as Malaeamoho. A Tongan god named Tafakula (literally Red Edges) witnessed the theft. He proceeded in pursuit of the thieves. He went to the top of a mountain on the volcanic island Tofua. He there took off the garments which he had girded about his loins and stooped over, exposing his red anus. It shone brightly like the setting sun, frightening the Samoan gods exceedingly. They dropped their booty in the ocean off the northern end of Foa, and there it is to be seen today in the form of the island of Nukunamu. The affrighted Samoan gods hastened back to their native islands.

THE ORIGIN OF KAO ISLAND<sup>74</sup>

This is the story of how Kao was taken from the neighboring island of Tofua, which was once so high that it could be seen from Samoa and also from Tuahivavala (Eight Ridges).

Three deities from Samoa, Tuvuvota, Sisi, and Faingaa, conspired to steal Tofua. So they came and tore up the high mountain by its very roots and its place was taken by a large lake (the crater lake of Tofua). This enraged the Tongan gods very much and one of them, Tafakula, essayed to stop the thieves. He stood on the little island of Luahoko (in the Haapai group) and bent over so as to show his anus. It shone so brilliantly that the Samoan deities were struck with fear, thinking that the sun was rising and that their dastardly work was about to be revealed. Hence, they dropped the mountain close to Tofua and fled to Samoa. The mountain became the island of Kao.

[Tofua is some sixteen hundred feet in height and has a crater lake in the interior. Just north of Tofua rises the great volcanic cone of Kao, three thousand three hundred and eighty feet in height.]

<sup>73</sup> Told by Joel Hein, Mayor of Letofoa, Foa island, Haapai.

<sup>74</sup> Told by Meseke Lomu, of Tofua, Foa island, Haapai.

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ORIGIN OF HEAVENLY BODIES

The only stories that were obtained about stars were those relating to the origin of the Magellan clouds and the evening star. It is interesting to note that these tales are in no way connected with the cosmogony, but are on the contrary rather puerile tales that attribute the origin of these stars to the transformation of mischievous boys. 539  
821  
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In the story entitled "The Origin of the Reef Matahina," page 100, reference is made of the origin of the constellation Orion. 539

THE ORIGIN OF THE MAGELLAN CLOUDS\*

Once upon a time there was living at Vaini, in Tongatabu, a great chief called Maafu, whose descendants are living to this day. It was Maafu's habit to bathe every evening in a water hole known as Tufatakale, so called because close by there lived at one time a man and a woman whose names were Tufa and Kale. Maafu, being a clean person, used to take a piece of coconut husk with him as a sort of scrubbing brush. After he had finished with it, he always threw it on a flat stone at the side of the water hole.

Living in the immediate vicinity was a huge female lizard, who, after Maafu's evening bath, always came and swallowed the piece of coconut husk. Time went on and a most astonishing thing occurred. The lizard gave birth to twins—not lizards—but to all appearance, shape, and size, human beings. She called them Maafu Toka and Maafu Lele.

Years rolled by and the two boys had almost reached manhood, when one day they went to their mother and said: "We are tired of living here by ourselves. Tell us who our father is and we will go to him and live with him." The old lizard realized that it was of no use trying to keep hidden any longer two such fine, healthy, and happy youths. So with a sad heart she rubbed them all over with scented oil, dressed their hair and hung sweet smelling garlands of flowers and leaves round their necks. Her directions were that they were to take a certain road and at the end of it, where it opened out into the town, they would see a large house, outside of which a number of people would be sitting drinking kava. They were not to go up at once, but were to watch and see to whom the greatest respect was being paid. Then, after the kava drinking was over, they were to approach the person to whom the greatest respect had been shown. That person would be Maafu, their father.

The boys bade their mother farewell. By carrying out her instructions they soon found the house and saw the kava drinking ceremony. It did not take them long to recognize their father, but they waited at a little

\* Recorded by W. H. Murley, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai.

## STORIES ABOUT VISITS TO PULOTU, THE LAND OF THE DEPARTED

Tales recounting the adventures of gods and mortals who journeyed from this world (Tonga) to Pulotu (an island said to be somewhere to the northwest and to be the home of many of the gods and of the souls of departed chiefs) are fairly common. Hikuleo, the ruler of Pulotu, is portrayed sometimes as a female divinity, sometimes as a male. In certain of the Pulotu tales the visitors are forced to undergo ordeals.

Only one tale of the Orpheus and Eurydice type was obtained. In it the roles are reversed. It is the wife who seeks the husband. This tale has been placed under the caption "Stories of Hina and Sinilau," as these two characters are prominent in it. (See p. 183.)

THE ORIGIN OF THE DEITY FEHULUNI<sup>100</sup>

Tokua mae i ai ha ongo matua mo ena fanau e toko hiva. Pea koe aho e taha iloange nae pekia ae taoketelele. Pea hili hono fai ia, pea toe pekia ae hoko; pea hili hono fai ia, pea toe pekia ae hoko o pehe pe, hokohoko i he ngahi aho kioa o au ki hono toko ono. Pea i he fai hono toko ono nae tala e he tanata aia ko hono toko fitu: "Mou nofo heni kau alu o vakai pe koeha oku tau pehe ai; he koeni kuo tau mei osi; naa oku ai ha taha te ne fetuku kitautolu." Koia naa ne tala. "Ko eku alu eni, pea e tuku hoku angaanga i he ana koe (ko hono hingoa ko Makatuua); pea kau ka fueloa mai oua naa mou tanu hoku angaanga, kae juku keu foki mai ki ai."

Pea ne too ha kiefau o vala, pea ne toki alu hifo ki Pulotu. Pea i he ene au ki Pulotu naa ne ilo ha fale pea mo ha afi oku kohu i tua. Ta! koe api ia o Hikuleo. Pea ne alu ki ai pea ne ilo he afi ha foi oku tunu ai. "Koe hingoa oe foi ufi koe lokolokamangavalu. Pea ne pakii ha manga e taha (he nae mangavalu foki ae foi ufi), o kai. Pea hau a Hikuleo ke fokihi ene tunu. Ta! kuo mole ae manga e taha. Pea ne kaila o pehe, "Kohai ha taha oku ne ave aku mangai ufi; hange ko Tui Haataha oku kei i mama?" Pea ne toe totolo mai o toe pakii moe manga e taha. Toe hau a Hikuleo o toe fai ene kaila. Pea na

It is said that there were two parents that had nine children. And suddenly one day the eldest died. And after he was buried, then the next eldest died; and after he was buried, then the next eldest died and so on, continued day after day till the sixth was reached. And after the burial of the sixth, the man who was the seventh said: "You remain here while I go and see what is the matter with us; for we are nearly all dead; perhaps there is some one that is carrying us off." Thus he told them. "I am going, and I will leave my dead body in the cave (the name of which was Makatuua: *maka*, stone; *tuu*, appear as a spirit; *ua*, two); and should I be away a long time don't bury my body, but leave it for me to return to it."

And he took a fine mat as a loin cloth, then he went down to Pulotu. And when he reached Pulotu he found a house and some fire that was smoking outside. Behold! it was the home of Hikuleo. And he went up to it and found a yam on the fire baking. The name of that yam was *lokolokamangavalu* (*lokoloka*, rough skin; *manga*, forked; *valu*, eight). And he broke off one of the forks (the yam had eight forks), and ate it. And Hikuleo came and turned the baking yam. Lo! one of the forks was gone. And he shouted and said, "Who is the person that has taken the fork of my yam; just like Tui

<sup>100</sup>Told by John Havili. Recorded by E. E. V. Collocott. Translated by Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker.

## STORIES

## INTRODUCTION

The Tongan is an incurable conversationalist. He is a fine orator, and 521  
a critical judge of public speaking, equally gifted in conversation. Sociable, 537  
humorous, keen-witted, he is admirable in the give-and-take of conversation  
and banter. A joke is rewarded with peals of laughter. An oddity is  
summed up in a pointed phrase. Tongans are keen and swift judges of 828  
character. A salient feature in the stranger's appearance or character is  
quickly seized upon. These people have a strong vein of satiric humor 522  
which soon strips off a man's disguises; but is not unkindly, and is equally  
ready to do justice to his virtues. Intelligent and interested in the great 521  
world, they welcome into the circle of conversation the foreigner, or the 609  
native who has travelled or is able to read the newspapers, and relish his  
accounts of lands and events outside their own little kingdom.

In ordinary social intercourse, no less than on great ceremonial occa- 576  
sions, the Tongan is remarkable for his dignified courtesy. The lowest  
born, as well as the chief, has a refinement of manners, which is without  
servility, and makes his behavior free from embarrassment, even in the  
presence of the highest chiefs. It is safe to venture the guess that a badly  
behaved Tongan has spent much time in one of the European settlements.  
Tongan social usages are strict in their demands, and this unembarrassed  
correctness of behavior, free from shyness or effrontery, is not a little  
striking. The foreigner who has spent many happy years with these  
people must not omit to express his appreciation of the kindly forbearance,  
not unmixed with amusement—for the Tongan cannot resist a joke—with  
which the social lapses of the stranger are overlooked, nor the frequent  
invitation to dispense with some usage which might be irksome to him.

Story-telling is largely in the domain of the older women. The general 538  
term for a tale is *fananga*. An institution like the Maori colleges, *whare* 462  
*whananga* (custodians of sacred lore), seems not to have existed among the  
Tongans. The stories in this work, and in Gifford's *Tongan Myths and* 509  
*Tales* (22) are *fananga*. It will be seen that the subjects of many are the old  
gods and kindred topics; but the compositions of a modern novelist would  
also be *fananga*. A name applied especially to tales of the old gods, crea- 773  
tion myths, and the like, is *tala tupua*, which seems to mean either tale of  
the long ago or tale of mysterious powers, the divine, supernatural. There 555  
is a scrap of verse which may possibly refer to prize-giving for story-telling. 539



When the chiefs returned to the house they noticed the stench, and the Tui Tonga remarked that this was the work of the man they had seen at the pool. In the morning he sent a messenger bidding the man come to him at once; but Hauuta, disobeying the summons, collected his men, and set to work with them clearing the side of the road that led from Fahefa. Thus, whilst ostensibly working, they were able to command the road. Hauuta's orders were, that if anyone came along the road who belonged to Hihifo, he must not be molested; but if anyone came from the party of travelling chiefs he should be taken and killed. A man came along the road, and then a second; but neither of them belonged to the Tui Tonga's party. Then a third came, one of the Tui Tonga's men. Him they slew, and carried away; and when they had heated an oven they baked him, and it is said that he is still being baked. So that place is called Umutangata (oven, or meal, of man). 539  
823

Pot-holes in some rocks at the extreme west of Tongatabu are ascribed to a Tui Tonga, who stood there giving his commands, and who, as he uttered his behests, kept smiting the rock with his staff. On another part of the coast of Tongatabu is a hole in a rock where the legendary hero Tui Motuliki, son of Sinailele, drove in a stake to which to moor his boat.

On the sea flats near Hofoa, in Tongatabu, is an isolated rock, considerably eroded at the base, called Moa (fowl). It is said that a fowl and a turtle (*fonu*) ran a race on the flats. The fowl was turned into the rock, and the turtle was turned into a pool a short distance away. 539  
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#### THE POOL HAAHAU

Haahau is a little pool in Felemea, in the island of Uiha in Haapai. This pool was a love gift from a god, or spirit, of Eua to a woman of Felemea. The god ordered the well to be dug close to a chestnut tree (*ifi*, *Inocarpus edulis*). It was covered with the shell of a *kema*, and the god warned the people that whenever they drew water they should carefully replace the shell when they had finished. This was always done, until, in more recent days, people said that covering the well-mouth with the shell was merely a piece of old-time foolishness. So the shell was thrown away; but after a few months the water, which had been perfectly sweet, became bitter, and has remained so ever since. At times the water is red, a sign that the woman of long ago, to whom the well was a love gift, is about to give birth to a child. 539  
823  
773

#### THE WELL VEEMUMUNI

The well Veemumuni in Vavau once belonged to a spirit. Nearby was the garden of a man, and the spirit used to lift the stone with which the

599 well was covered, and sit at the water's edge, watching the man at his  
 829 work. One day the man noticed the spirit, and approached the well, but  
 779 as he drew near the spirit disappeared into the water, and covered it with  
 the rock. The man returned to his work, but presently he saw the spirit  
 again sitting at the water's edge. He approached, but once more the  
 spirit eluded him. This happened three times, and so the man knew that  
 the stranger was a spirit. Then he took off his turban and girdle of  
 leaves, and put them on a tree to make it look like a man, while he crept  
 round to the place toward which the spirit had turned his back as he sat  
 by the water. Presently the spirit came to view again, and the man  
 sprang upon him, and held him fast until he begged for mercy, and  
 promised to give the man his well. Since then the well has been un-  
 covered, and the stone with which it was covered is still left lying beside it.

## THE CAVE TAPINGAAMAMA

599 Tapingaamama (Human affairs, manners) is the name of a cave, in  
 829 Tefisi in Vavau, through the walls of which there is considerable soakage.  
 779 Two spirits, or demons (*tevolo*) live there, one being a *toko* (eel). A  
 829 stranger once left his *vola* (kilt) in the cave while he went to bathe, and  
 1029 when he came back he found the *vola* folded up, with a rat inside it. The  
 269 rat also was a *tevolo*, presumably the second spirit of the cave. Many  
 people are said to have been lost through the cannibals who lived there.

## RELATIONS WITH PULOTU

## ROAD TO PULOTU

775 Gifford (22, p. 153), has published a number of stories relating to  
 journeys to Pulotu, abode of Hikuleo and of the souls of chiefs, an island  
 somewhere out to the northwest, in which are Pukolea (Speaking-  
 puko-tree) able to confer limitless favors, and the Vaiola (Water of life),  
 into which it would seem that the souls of the dead were plunged, rising  
 thence with eternal freshness and vigor. But, besides the far-off mystical  
 island, there is another Pulotu, the Underworld, which is reached by jump-  
 1829 ing into a crevice, or into the sea. Several localities are mentioned as  
 Hala ki Pulotu (Road to Pulotu) which, like the jumping-off places of  
 souls throughout so large a part of Polynesia, have a general westerly or  
 599 northerly outlook.<sup>1</sup> In the first and sixth of the stories that follow, the  
 779 hero plucks up a reed (*kaho*) with which the entrance of the road to  
 775 Pulotu is closed. This detail of the reed is found in the story of the  
 824 visits of Maui Atalanga and his son, Maui Kisikisi, to the Underworld,  
 Lolofonua, during the time that they were living in Koloa, one of the

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islands of the Vavau group (14). The Underworld from which the Maui came, and to which they returned, is not, however, spoken of as Pulotu, but simply as Lolofonua. In the Tongan Creation Myth, indeed, Pulotu, the realm of Hikuleo, is distinct from Lolofonua, the abode of the Maui. (15, p. 276).

In Tongatabu, the road or a road—to Pulotu is said to have started from a spot called Haalako, on the weather shore near the village of Foui. This part of the coast faces to the west, and is in the western part of the island. One account would seem to make a pool (*pupu*) the actual entrance to the road, while another account says that the dead go to the water's edge, and jump into the sea. Down below there is said to be a great cave. Before going down to the water's edge the dead tear off a branch from the shrub called uhi (according to Pratt, *Evodia hortensis*) and presumably take the branch with them. This would seem to be the meaning of the expression *haaki ae uhi*, though possibly it might mean to pull the shrub up, or throw it down. In Haapai, however, the plant so used is not the *uhi*, but the *toa* which is so sturdy a tree that tearing off a branch is the only likely meaning. A road at Niuaunonofo, the north-western point of Tongatabu is named from a clump of coconut trees, according to native tradition where the traveller to Pulotu plucks up a reed, *kaho*. The *uhi*, which is *namu tevolo* (smelling of spirits), is one of the most potent of medicinal plants for curing demonic possession, and for preventing the wandering of ghosts from the graves of the dead (10, pp. 137-139). Thus it may be conjectured that the newly dead take branches of this shrub as a protection against the spirit dangers that await them. An old man told me that he remembered hearing in his childhood the expression "Kuo haaki ae uhi e sii eiki" (The poor chief has broken off the *uhi*) used in connection with a chief who had just died. He added the detail that at the time he heard a noise like that made by a whale beating the sea.

In Eua, which lies a little south of the extreme easterly point of Tongatabu, the road to Pulotu is said to commence in the sea between Eua and the tiny islet Kalau, just off the southern end of Eua. In Haapai the road to Pulotu seems to start in the crater of the volcanic island of Tofua, which, with the splendid cone of Kao standing close beside it, forms the western extremity of that group. "Kuo haaki ae toa" is said of the soul which makes its way to Pulotu by jumping into the crater of Tofua. Toa trees are planted about many cemeteries, though not by any means confined to such positions. They are "chiefly" trees, well suited to adorn any road or compound to which it is desired to give an aspect of nobility.

## ULUVALU

539 There was once an eight-headed demon (*nifoloo*), named Uluvalu, who  
 773 stole a girl and took her down to Pulotu. But a youth who loved her  
 775 plucked up the reed that closed the road to Pulotu, and went down and  
 [824] found his sweetheart. They arranged that the girl should caress the  
 demon's heads, and so soothe him off to sleep, and that when he was  
 asleep she should steal off with her lover. This was done, and the pair  
 returned safely to the world of men.

776 The *nifoloo* (long-tooth) are a class of supernatural beings, appearing  
 usually in human shape, generally maleficent, indeed cannibalistic. The  
 776 adjective *faka-nifoloo*, is used of that which is bizarre, outrageous. It is  
 192 impossible to make a hard and fast distinction between *nifoloo*, *faahikehe*,  
*tevolo*, and *otua*, though *otua* has appreciated in dignity through its  
 application to the Christian Deity. Tregear (34, *niho*) mentions Ruahine-  
 nihoniho-rotoa, the Tahitian goddess of strife, cruelty, and murder.

## A TRIP TO PULOTU

539 Gifford has published the well-known story (22, pp. 169-70), of which  
 773 the following is a brief version, added because of the new detail of the  
 role played by Fakafoimaka.

775 Haelefeke, Fakafoimaka (or Fakafuumaka), and Faifaimalie journeyed  
 [114] to Pulotu to Hikuleo, who, on their arrival, bade the denizens of Pulotu pre-  
 pare food for the visitors. When the food was set before them, Hikuleo told  
 his guests that they must eat it all, otherwise their lives would be for-  
 feited. Haelefeke and Fakafoimaka wept, conceiving it to be impossible  
 to consume so much food, but Faifaimalie said to leave it to her, and  
 setting to work she ate not only the food, but the rod on which it had been  
 carried, the basket, and the leaves with which it was covered. Nothing  
 was left, and Hikuleo was told that it was finished.

"Uoke, Uoke," (strange) he said.

Then he bade them gather the fruit from a *vi* tree (*Spondias dulcis*),  
 so laden with fruit that not a single leaf could be seen. He said that all  
 must be collected; if one were left they should die. Then Fakafoimaka  
 and Faifaimalie wept, but Haelefeke said to leave it to him. So he lay  
 spread out beneath the branches, and, when the gods shook the tree, he  
 caught all the fruit in his tentacles, not one escaped him. When Hikuleo  
 and the spirits (*kau nifoloo*) saw this they bade the three return to the  
 world, but they made the road rough with sharp spikes, like the thorns of  
 the shaddock. Now Haelefeke and Faifaimalie wept, but Fakafoimaka  
 said to leave this difficulty to him. Then he rolled about on the sharp  
 spikes, and smoothed the road, so that they ascended safely to this world.

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## A TRIP TO PULOTU

(A Variant)

There was once a man named Lasa in Vavau, who went out into the bush to cut down a tree to make a canoe. After a whole day of toil a tree was felled, and Lasa went home to sleep. During the night the god Haelefeke came to the felled tree and said to it, "Lasa, Lasa, tree stand upright," and the tree stood again in its place. In the morning Lasa came, and spent another whole day in felling the tree. That night while he slept at home Haelefeke came again and restored the tree to its place. This happened three times, and then Lasa, after hewing down the tree once more, instead of returning home, hid and lay in wait. When Haelefeke came, Lasa sprang out and seized him, and held him until he had promised to assist him in the building of the canoe. So they built the canoe together, and when Lasa was preparing to sail away in her, Haelefeke bade him not to refuse to go to anyone who should beckon to him. So Lasa got on board and sailed away, but at Muikuku he saw someone beckoning to him. So he went in, and took on board this personage, who was Tupuafaakai (Spirit apt to eat). Further on, at Tuanuku, he saw someone else beckoning, and went in and took on board Tupuakihaa (Thieving spirit), and at Otea he found Haelefeke himself, and took him on board.

Then they sailed away to Fiji, and landed on an island where a *nifolaa* lived. They smoothed out their footprints on the sand, hid the canoe, and went to the demon's house. Lasa climbed up to the ridgepole of the house, Tupuafaakai, Tupuakihaa and Haelefeke each stood close to a post. Presently the demon came in, with weeping people whom he had stolen, and began at once to sniff suspiciously, saying, "Namu mama, namu tafatafa" (Smell of humans, smell of blood). Then, catching sight of Lasa, he hauled him down from his perch. Then he saw the three gods, and tried to pull them out into the open, but so closely did Haelefeke cling to his post that he could not pull him away; indeed, he seemed like to pull the house down with his hauling. So the demon asked Haelefeke to desist, promising that he would let them go alive. So Haelefeke relinquished his hold of the post.

Then the demon brought in food, saying that if they did not eat it all they should die. Haelefeke and Tupuakihaa both ate their fill, but the food was not nearly finished. Tupuafaakai, however, saved them by devouring the huge meal. Then the demon told them that he was going to shake his vi tree, and that they would die if any of the fruit fell to the ground. Haelefeke saved them by spreading himself out under the tree,



539 and catching all the fruit as it fell. After this the demon sent one of his  
 773 own men with Tupuakaihaa to gather the land crab, called *lairo* by the  
 775 Fijians, but *tupa* by the Tongans, saying that they should die if the  
 Tongan were beaten by the Fijian. So the two went off, and the Fijian  
 had filled his basket before the Tongan had caught a single crab. As  
 they were returning Tupuakaihaa asked the Fijian to climb a coconut tree  
 to get nuts to drink. When he was up in the tree, Tupuakaihaa com-  
 menced to sing to him, "Tongan wakeful eye, Fijian sleepy eye; Tongan  
 wakeful eye, Fijian sleepy eye," and kept on till the Fijian fell asleep in  
 the tree. Then Tupuakaihaa filled his own empty basket with coconut  
 husks, and exchanged it for the Fijian's basket of crabs. Having done  
 this he waked the Fijian, who came down from the tree and seized the  
 basket of husks. So they returned to the demon, and this labor also was  
 accomplished, and they were saved.

#### TUIPULOTU'S HOUSE IN PULOTU

The handsome (*manaia*) Tuipulotu<sup>1</sup> had a house in Pulotu built en-  
 tirely of women. The house was complete but for the ridgepole, and  
 Tuipulotu was still waiting for a woman whom he would marry, and  
 place as ridgepole.

Now there was a married couple who had ten daughters, all named  
 Hina, of whom the youngest was very beautiful. So Tuipulotu came to  
 this world and invited them to go and drink kava in Pulotu. They  
 accepted the invitation, and went.

When the girls reached Pulotu they went to Tuipulotu's mother's  
 brother (*tuarina*), who was named Vaipepe. He instructed them as to  
 what they should say when they came to Tuipulotu's house, and were  
 called. Now Tuipulotu had gone and seated himself within his house, and  
 presently the eldest sister was called. So approaching the house she sat  
 down outside, and said,

Hu kita 'ia Vaipepe  
 Hoto ta'e fie hu ki fale.

I am going to Vaipepe  
 Being unwilling to enter the house.

But she was told to go away, and then the second sister came. She,  
 too, was sent away. And so it was with all the girls, until the tenth  
 approached. She was called into the house, but answered as her sisters  
 had done. Each had been called into the house, and had replied with the  
 couplet, and been sent away. The tenth, however, was not sent away, but  
 was again called into the house. Again she was called, and again she  
 refused in the words of the couplet. And so it went on, the girl being  
 called and refusing, till at last she went into the house. Now Tuipulotu's



teeth were of ivory, and gleamed white upon the girl, and were very beautiful. Then he spread two mats (*kie*), and lay with the girl. Then Tuipulotu bade her take the mats, and return with her sisters to the world. This is the reason of the custom in Tongan marriage of the mat of virginity, *kie tangavai*.<sup>3</sup> So they were saved alive. 539  
773  
775  
[585]

#### THE DEMON AND HIS HOUSE OF BEAUTIFUL MEN AND WOMEN

In this story no names are given, and the locale is not said to be Pulotu. Probably it is to be considered a brief variant of the foregoing, though there are differences of detail, and the ending may have been modified by European fairy tales. [77]

There was once a *nifoloo*, whose house was built of beautiful men and women. The house was completed but for the ridgepole. Where the ridgepole should be was a space, left vacant to be filled by a person of flawless beauty. At last the demon discovered a girl whose beauty was in every way perfect, and she was led away to fill the empty space. As she went she wept, and when she was brought into the house the faces of those already built in grinned with envy of her loveliness.

But the demon was moved and softened by her loveliness and distress, and placed a substitute for her as ridgepole. Then he took her to the seashore, and bade her slay him; but this she could not bring herself to do; so he told her to go away, and he himself leaped into the sea. Thence he returned to her a handsome young man, and married her, and dismissed to their homes the men and women who had formed his house.

#### LOLONGOVAVAU, DAUGHTER OF HINA AND SINILAU

Hina, the wife of Sinilau,<sup>1</sup> a handsome man of the midpart of Tonga, bore him a daughter. After a time Hikuleo came from Pulotu, and, entering Hina's house, bade them bring the child out into the center of the house. The parents obeyed weeping, supposing that their child was to be killed. Hikuleo ordered, however, that she be named Lolongovavau, and that she be taken to Pulotu, to be queen (*tui*) there. Hina's brother, Ofamaikiatama (Love to the child), said that he would go to Pulotu to look after her.<sup>2</sup> So Lolongovavau was taken to Pulotu, and placed in the palace (*fale hau*), and the two trees Pukolea (Speaking tree) and Akau-talanoo (Talking tree) came at once, and stood, each at a doorpost, to guard the girl. There were also the guards who stood to watch. [604]  
[824]

Now the maiden was very beautiful, and when she grew up, her uncle, seeing that the time had come for her to marry, went up to the world to seek a handsome man to be her husband. He commenced his search in

59A Eua, but found no one there; then he went through eastern Tongatabu, 773 but without success. So he came through middle Tongatabu, where were 775 ten handsome men, but he chose none of them. Then he reached western Tongatabu, and went on to the village of Haatafu, which stands at the end of the island. There he stood at the entrance to the village, and thus expressed his hopes, "This is a beautifully situated town; if its position is so fair, how much more the people who dwell in it."

So he entered the town, and, hearing shouting, went and stood before the house whence the noise came. Looking in he saw the chief Lolomatokelau seated at a game of *lafo*. Straightway he entered the house, and greeted Lolomatokelau, who returned his greeting,<sup>6</sup> and asked why he had come. And Ofamaikiatama replied that he had been through the whole of Tonga seeking a plant for medicine for his child, and so at last had come to this part. Then Lolomatokelau congratulated him on his coming and getting medicine, and he and his men provided kava, and they drank kava together. When this was finished Ofamaikiatama thanked them for the kava, and said that he would go with the medicine for his child.

[629] So he departed, and pulling up the reed at Niuaunofu he entered Pulotu,<sup>8</sup> and going straight to Lolongovavau told her to come with him, for he would get a husband for her in the world. "How can we escape from this place?" asked the maiden. But the man stole the life-affecting fan (*I Taumowi*) of Hikuleo, to fan to sleep Pukolea and Akautalanoa and Pulotu. So they went up to the world, and Ofamaikiatama left the girl in Lolomatokelau's compound with the fence of eight crosspieces, and returned himself to Pulotu.

Now Lolomatokelau had a pigeon named Mahuamata (Full of eyes) kept in the compound, and the pigeon cooed to tell her master about the maiden. Straightway Lolomatokelau waked, and called his younger brother, Lulutalihala, to go and see why the pigeon was cooing. The brother went, and brought word that there was a lovely maiden there, who was stringing a necklace of hala. So Lolomatokelau went, and kindly greeted her, and bade her come with him. Then lifting her up he carried her, and called his men and his sisters to come and hold joyful festival, for Lolongovavau was in the compound. So they ate together, and the two were married.

[607] In course of time Lolongovavau became with child, and bore a son, who was taken and cared for by her husband's sisters.<sup>7</sup> Now when the handsome men (*kau manaiā*) of mid-Tonga heard that Lolomatokelau and Lolongovavau were married they sent word to him to come and join them in the sport of dart throwing (*tolo*). He told his wife that he would go to the game, and that if he did not return she would know that he was

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killed, but if he were alive he would come back to her. Preparations were at once made; his necklace, of the sort called *tuंगा-papai*, was put on, he was anointed with sandalwood oil, and he went to the sport. Here he was slain by the handsome men. 599 773 775

Meanwhile his bride wept, and at last fell upon her couch of mats and slept. And as she slept the spirit (*laumalie*) of her husband came, and cried from without the house:

Ta'ahine Lolongo-vava'u  
Ko eku ha'u ni ko eku fekau,  
Folofola 'a Loloma-tokelau  
Ke age 'e helu pea moe fangu,  
Pea ke 'alu ange he 'oku ngangau  
Tofa he mala'e 'oe hau.

Dear lady\* Lolongovavau  
On an errand am I come now,  
'Tis the word of Lolomatokelau  
To take a comb and gourd of oil,  
Do thou go, for he is bedewed,  
Lying on the green of the king.

But the lady did not awake, and again the spirit cried,

Fangu ngatu 'i Utukaunanga\*  
Ke mou sipia ha pangaikafa,  
Pea 'ange ia ko si'ono vala;  
Tu'u ke ta o na'a mafua e ata.

Gourd [of oil] cast down in  
Utukaunanga,  
Cut off a piece of bark cloth  
And give to him for his clothing;  
Arise, let us go, lest the dawn break.

Then the lady awaked, and went out, and saw her husband going on before her, and she cried to him:

Tama e ho'o ve'e kamikami,  
Koeha e toto 'oku telepani?  
He maua 'ae fa he hala ni,  
He 'alaha ete fangu koe ahi,  
'Ilo ia ko eku tui 'i api.

Why dear are your feet so swift?  
Why the blood that is spread in my sight?  
The hala is sweet on the road,  
And fragrant my sandalwood oil;  
Smell [the garlands] I have twined in  
our home.

And he replied:

Lakalaka mai, to'to'o mai,  
Koe 'uha na'e to 'anenai,  
Moe fa hausia he hala ni.

Come, hasten, make speed,  
With the rain that fell erstwhile  
The hala is wet in this road.

So they journeyed on, and presently the man spoke again:

'Oka hokosia e maka nofo'a  
Peau tali atu ke ta fononga;  
Hoto malo-kula ke mou to'oa,  
Ete fangu takai hoto foha,  
Ke hingoa ko He-'i-ma'imoa.

When we have reached the rock seat  
I shall wait that we journey together.  
My loin-cloth of red shall you take,  
My gourd of oil for my son,  
And his name shall be Gone-astray-in-a-game.

And the lady replied:

Koe lau nai ia te'e tama",  
Koe lahi ia pea kafakafa,  
Pea 'oku nofo he mehekitanga,  
He lahi fefine he lahi tangata,  
Ka te 'alu kita 'i hoto mamana.

Speakest thou indeed of my child?  
Full sturdy is he and well grown,  
And with thy sisters he dwelleth,  
Of women and men there are plenty,  
As for me I shall go with my love.

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Then for the last time the husband spoke:

Ta'ahine Lolongo-vava'u  
Ka 'oku ke 'ofa 'iate au,  
Koena 'a Lulu-tali-hala,  
Pea moe api ko 'One-malama,  
Mo si'ete lupe ko Mahu'a-mata,  
Ke vakai na'a heu ai taha.

Dear lady Lolongovavau,  
By the love that thou hast for me,  
Behold, there is Lulutalihala,  
And our home Onemalama,  
And my dear pigeon Mahuamata,  
Do thou guard lest any should capture.

So the man went to Pulotu, but the lady went on to his body; and when she reached the place she found the wives of the handsome men who had slain him weeping. So many were there that she could not come near the body, but wept at a distance. But the dead chief's pigeon was sitting up aloft, and bade make way for her, that she might come to her dear husband and mourn alone. So they went, and the lady wept.

Now while she was weeping Ofamaikiatama went, in Pulotu, to fetch water, and he met the soul of Lolomatokelau going along, and plucking a taro leaf, he wrapped the soul in it, and thrust it into his side [presumably into his girdle]. He left his task of fetching water for Hikuleo, and came with the Fan up to the world, where he found Lolongovavau still weeping by the body of her husband. He placed the soul in [on] the body, and fanned with I Taumoui, and the man became alive again, and stood up and sat down. Then Lolomatokelau spoke to Lolongovavau: "Cease your weeping; for I am alive."

And the lady looked, and saw her husband sitting up before her, and she said, "Long it was that you hearkened not to my voice."

"True," he replied, "I was engaged in making kava in Pulotu." Then Ofamaikiatama bade them return to their home, while he went back to Pulotu, and they returned to Onemalama, in Haatafu.<sup>11</sup>

## HINA AND SINILAU

### INTRODUCTION

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Interesting parallels to the Tongan stories of Hina and Sinilau are presented by Tregear (34). For New Zealand, Tregear says: "Tinirau at the time of his marriage with Hina had two other wives, their names were Harataunga and Horotata, the daughters of Mangamangaiatua; they were killed by Hina with incantations, they having been spiteful and malicious to her . . . Tinirau's wife and her child left him, departing with his brother-in-law, Rupe. Tinirau had nine sisters." Rupe, brother of Hina, having long sought her, discovered that she was in Motutapu, "assuming the shape of a pigeon, he flew thither, revealed himself to Hina, and carried off both his sister and her new-born baby." Tregear

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gives an excellent conspectus of the myths relating to Hina and Sinilau throughout Polynesia and Krämer (26, vol. 1, pp. 132-139) relates Samoan stories of Sina and Tingilau which present features closely resembling those found in the Tongan tales. 539 779 771

Sina is induced by a jealous wife of Tingilau to get him away fishing; she is then killed by the jealous wife. Afterwards she is restored to life.

Sina's soul is taken by a jealous girl. Sina's brother finds her soul, and restores it to her and she lives.

Tufitofau and Ongafau have two children, Lupe (who is in the form of a pigeon) and his sister Sina. Sina is very beautiful, is married to Tingilau, and lives with him in Savavau. A woman (human and demon) swallows nine baskets of fish, baskets, leaves and all. Sina is blamed, and is banished into the forest. Her brother the pigeon, has compassion on her, and prepares for her confinement. Sina lives separated from Tingilau, but they are reconciled through their child. Tingilau, before the reconciliation, gets his son to take a piece of taro to Sina to chew for him (26, vol. 1, pp. 132-139). (See 22, pp. 181-195; 8, pp. 237-8.)

## HINALEIHAAMOA DAUGHTER OF LUPE

There was once a pigeon, named Lupe Pangongoa, whose habit was always to turn her tail to the wind; no matter from what quarter the wind blew she always turned her tail to it. At last she became pregnant, and bore a very lovely daughter, whom she named Hinalaihaamoa (Hina Samoan ivory). The Lupe used to go about the various countries gathering possessions for her child, for she knew there would come a day when she would be married, and she would be put to shame if she had not the wealth wherewith to celebrate the nuptials. So the house of Lupe and Hina was filled with women's treasures. 539 779

One day Tangaloa looked down from the sky, and saw this wealth of mats and cloth spread out in the sun, and he called to Light Rain, "Maiden go down and get some of Pigeon's possessions that are spread out yonder." Down ran Light Rain; but she was too slow, the mats and cloth were taken into the house, and scarcely anything was wetted or spoiled or lost.

Next Sudden Shower was called to go and get something; but Lupe was very quick, and saved the greater part of her wealth, so that Sudden Shower got little more than Light Rain.

Then Heavy Rain was bidden to descend, and he, rushing down in a sudden burst, destroyed nearly the whole of Lupe's possessions. Great was the grief of Lupe and her child. Especially sorrowful was the poor girl, and she went down to the beach and lamented. As she wept there a shark [825]

539 came, and said to her, "Hina, come with me, and if you ever have a child you  
773 can shave its head with my teeth."

825 But Hina replied, "Get you gone shark with your disgusting body; whom  
do you come to take away?"

Then a stingray came and invited her, promising his skin to her child to scrape sandalwood. But Hina answered, "Get you gone stingray with your little body; whom do you come to take away?"

Then a turtle came, promising that if she went with him her child should have his shell to make a ring. And Hina assented to the request of the turtle, and, mounting on his back, they sailed away together. As they went the turtle told Hina that if she were thirsty she would find drink in his coconut shell flask (*hohoni*), and that if she were hungry she could eat from the crown of his head and portions of his flesh, for his thigh and other portions of his body were good to eat. So Hina drank from the coconut shell flask, but, thinking it was a nut with flesh inside it, she cracked it on the turtle's head. That is the reason the turtle has a short neck.

539 They sailed on to Samoa, and reached the place where Sinilau lived, and  
773 Sinilau came down to the beach while Hina was sunning herself, just above the high-water mark. When he saw her he set himself a sign to know if she were mortal woman or spirit. He would cough slightly, and if she took no notice he would know she was a spirit, but if she hastened to put on her kilt he would know she was human. When he coughed the maiden sprang to her kilt, and clothed herself. Then he asked who she was, and she replied Drift-from-the-sea (*Hungaluopea*).

Now Sinilau had a house set apart for Hinaleihaamoa, and a house of eight mats, but he did not know that this was Hinaleihaamoa herself. So Hina lived with Sinilau, and became with child.

One day while Sinilau was away fishing his other wives came to Hina, and played a game in which the players bind each other in turn. When Hina was bound they threw her into the pig-sty, where she was found by a man and his wife who lived near, and who took her into their house and cared for her. In due time she bore her child, a boy. When the boy was grown big he was playing one day in front of the house, near a hea tree that stood there. Now, Lupe had ranged far and wide in her search for her child, and it happened that she was sitting in the hea tree while the boy was playing beneath it. Presently a fruit of the tree that Lupe had bitten fell to the ground. The boy picked it up, and took it into the house to his mother. Then he returned to his play. Again a fruit, marked by the bird's beak fell to the ground. This, too, was taken by the boy to his mother, who, noticing the marks of Lupe's beak in the fruit, said: "These are just like the marks



of the beak of Lupe Pangongoa." Lupe heard her daughter's voice, and straightway flew down into the house, and they recognized one another. 539  
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Then the Pigeon said that she would go and bring presents to celebrate Hina's marriage with Sinilau, lest he and his other wives should say that she had nothing. So she went away, and returned with a large fleet of canoes, bearing gifts and food of all descriptions. There was a wooden drum (*lali*) belonging to Hina, named Talalukuatonga, and a cock called Masilafofoa, and when the canoes drew near the shore the drum was beaten, and the cock crew. Very imposing were the appearance and approach of the fleet.

When Hina heard the beating of the drum and the crowing of the cock she said to the couple who befriended her:

Oa and Oa do you hearken,  
I shall tell you my name;  
I am Hinalihaamoā,  
Child of Lupepangongoa:  
My drum is Talalukua-Tonga,  
My cock is Masilafofoa.

So they knew that this was the lady for whom so many things, pool, and fine house, and compound, had been made tapu. Then they called to Sinilau that here was the lady whose fame had reached them. So Sinilau ran to the house, and lamented, and confessed his wrong, and begged Hina to forgive him, for his fault was occasioned by her not telling him her right name, but saying that she was Drift-of-the-sea.

But Hina's mind was made up that they should part, and this, too, was the wish of Lupe. So they prepared to sail as soon as the marriage ceremonies should be finished. When Hina's gifts had been presented they sailed forthwith, but Sinilau leaped into the sea, and swam after the canoes. None, however, would take him on board, and they went on out into mid-ocean, so that Sinilau almost perished, and kept sinking. But when his young son, the child of Hina, saw his peril, he stood up, and was about to jump overboard. Then were the hearts of Hina and Lupe and of their people moved and softened by this young boy's love for his father, and they put the canoes about, and took Sinilau on board. So they went on to Lupe's country, where they lived happily, with Sinilau and Hina as king and queen.

#### SINILAU AND HINA, DAUGHTER OF PUKO

There were a man and his wife, each named Puko, to whom was born a daughter, Hina. The girl grew up very beautiful, and was reserved for marriage to a god from heaven.

539  
773 In course of time Sinilau heard of the lovely damsel, and went to try and obtain her for himself. When the girl saw him she was filled with love for him. He told her that he had come to take her as his wife. Hina went, therefore, to make his wish known to her parents, and thus she spake to them,

E Puko mo Puko e,  
Koe fononga 'oku 'i lalo,  
Ko Sinilau ko ene tango,  
Pea teu 'alu au ke ma o.

E Puko and Puko e,  
There are travellers below [at the sea],  
Sinilau who comes a-wooing,  
Farewell, I shall go with him.

But the parents told the maiden that she might not marry Sinilau as there was a husband for her in heaven, and that she must tell this fellow to go. So she returned to Sinilau, and said to him "You are bidden to go, you are bidden to stay, you are bidden to go," and so on, many times, but she ended on "You are bidden to go." She acted thus because of her unwillingness to let Sinilau go.

As Sinilau was about to leave he said to Hina, "When Telingamaivalu (the god from heaven to whom Hina had been betrothed, and who was said to have eight ears) comes with Matavalu (his sister, said to have eight eyes) for you to go away with them, Matavalu will attempt your life. As you are traveling along the road she will say, 'Rest there, Telingamaivalu, while Hina and I turn aside into the bush.' She will do this to try and kill you. When you have gone into the bush she will tell you to fetch out your liver for you both to eat. But you must say to her, 'Come, let us eat your liver first.' Then she will bring out her liver, and break it in two, and give you the branch of the liver (*mangaiate*, the chiefly portion), keeping the remainder for herself. Do not eat it. Here are two nonu fruit. Turn away from her, and eat one of the nonu instead of the piece of liver, which you must hide. Then, when the time comes to eat your liver, return to her the piece of her own liver, and eat the second nonu yourself."

Everything happened as Sinilau had predicted, and his instructions were carried out by Hina; so that Matavalu was astonished that Hina was not dead after eating, as she supposed, a piece of her liver, and suspected that she must be a spirit. Sinilau had also bidden Hina that, when she reached Telingamaivalu's compound, and was wedded to him, she should wait two days, and then ask Telingamaivalu to call his flocks of pigeons for her to see, and beg him to give her for herself the pigeon that was almost dead, for that would be Sinilau. In this, too, Hina did as Sinilau told her, and the pigeon was given to her. And every day this little pigeon used to like to eat cooked food, and to eat pork, and to drink coconut, just like a human being.

Now Hina was never able to sleep at night, because of Matavalu's unceasing attempts to slay her. When Matavalu slept she slept with six eyes, and watched with two, waiting her opportunity when Hina should be overcome by sleep. Whenever Hina's eyelids drooped in weariness, and she began to sleep, Matavalu would come creeping towards her. Then the pigeon would coo, and awake Hina. At length Hina begged Telingamaivalu to bid Matavalu sleep, for she frightened her with her constant creeping towards her. Then Telingamaivalu was angry, and bade Matavalu go to sleep at once.

So Matavalu became suspicious of the pigeon, and said to herself that she thought it was a man. These are the words she spoke to Telingamaivalu:

Telinga-mai-valu e, Telinga-mai-valu e,  
 Mohe-mohe mo ke ngalangala,  
 Telia 'ae lupe olo mei fata,  
 Lupe 'ahai ne kai puaka,  
 Pea tangi ke inu he niu mata,  
 Pea tu'ula 'i he lei-mangamanga,  
 Manoa e fihu toki tatala?  
 'Ikai hala ko ha siana.  
 Telingamaivalu, Telingamaivalu,

Lightly dozing, and stirring in sleep,  
 Because of the pigeon that coos from the  
 rafters.  
 Whose pigeon has ever eaten pork,  
 And begged of the green coconut to  
 drink,  
 Of the branching ivory made its perch,  
 Its cord a mat but newly spread?  
 It cannot be but 'tis a man.

#### HINA, SINILAU, AND THE JEALOUS DEMON WIFE

There was once a couple who had a daughter named Hina, and when she grew up a handsome chief named Sinilau desired her for his wife. So one day Sinilau bade prepare his boat that they might go and fetch Hina. They reached the maiden's country, and returned home with her. She was installed in a fine house, and Sinilau's other wives looked after her. Among the wives was a demon (*faahikhe*), who was filled with dreadful anger against Hina, and sought an opportunity to slay her.

Now Sinilau had a reef where he used to go to fish for bonito, and one day the demon-wife persuaded Hina to ask Sinilau to go and get bonito for her, for Hina was pregnant, and the bonito was the food she craved in her pregnancy.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the bonito she desired was a one-eyed bonito. This was a ruse on the part of the demon-wife to ensure that Sinilau should be absent for a long time, for a one-eyed bonito is a very rare thing, and she knew that Sinilau's love of Hina would not let him return without the fish she desired. This would give her opportunity to bring about Hina's death.

So Sinilau and his men launched a canoe, and paddled out to sea to do the bidding of Hina, and get a one-eyed bonito. No sooner had they gone than the demon-wife came to Hina, and suggested that they *fono haihai*, that is play at the game in which the players are bound in turn, and

539 try to get free. Hina agreed, and the demon-wife gave her first turn at  
 779 binding. "Fine," she said, "you come and bind me first, and do it so  
 that I cannot free myself."

So she lay on a mat, and Hina bound her up in it so tightly that she could scarcely breathe. When Hina had finished she said, "There, I've finished; now get loose."

But the demon-wife could not free herself, and she called up from the ground to Hina, "Hina, I cannot loosen it; let me go, for I'm almost suffocated." So Hina untied the binding, and let her go. Then Hina lay down, and the demon bound her in large mats, and tied her up like a bundle, so that the poor girl could not move, and called up to the other to undo her. But the demon-woman only laughed, and said, "You'll be untied when the moon turns blue."<sup>2</sup> Then the other wives came, and they rejoiced together that their enemy was dead, and they uttered an incantation (*tuputupulefanua*) to change the demon-wife into the likeness of Hina. Then she swallowed a stone, and the leg of a wooden pillow, to make her belly swell as though she were pregnant. Thus she dwelt in the house awaiting the return of Sinilau.

Soon Sinilau returned with the one-eyed bonito for Hina, which the demon-wife took and swallowed, and then she asked Sinilau to be kind and take the bundle that was left in a corner of the house far out to sea, and throw it overboard, warning him not to throw it into the sea close to shore, for it was a bundle of rubbish she had collected to be taken far away, lest it cause sickness at home. So Sinilau boarded his canoe again, and paddled out to sea, and cast the bundle overboard.

The months passed, and the time of pregnancy was completed, and the demon brought forth two lusty boys, the fruit of the stone and of the wooden pillow-leg she had swallowed. They were nursed and cared for, and, as the years passed, grew up.

Now when Hina was thrown into the sea a wave had burst her bonds, and set her free, and she swam to an island, where she landed, and brought forth twin boys, whom she named Fatailangalanga and Fuhifamalama.<sup>3</sup> The twins were very handsome, and dwelt with their mother on the island, which was named Kapala.<sup>4</sup> One day they asked their mother who their father was, that they might go to him. The lady was not inclined to tell them about their father, for she was still hurt at having been cast into the sea by him; but her hurt was tempered by the knowledge that his treatment of her was due to the jealous machinations of the demon, and so she told the youths that Sinilau was their father. Then they asked their mother to prepare their dress, and put sweet-smelling garlands on them, that they might go to see their father. So their mother gave them white cloth for kilts (*vala*), and put strings of hala on their necks, and they leaped into

the sea, and swam to their father's country. When they reached shore they found a great festival of games—darting the lance, shooting at a mark, and various other sports—was in progress. The people were amazed at the handsome presence of the two youths, and came flocking round to see them; but the demon-wife called to the people to seize and kill them, for no human beings were so beautiful, and they must be spirits. She had divined that they were the children of Hina, and that Hina had not died. The demon-wife had given her own two sons the same names as those borne by the sons of Hina.

So the two lads were seized, and were on the point of being killed, when one of them, seeing the knife just about to be applied to his brother, cried out,

Sinilau ke ke fakaangaanga,  
Ko Hina 'ave 'o li he vaha,  
Opeopea tau ki Kapala,

Fa'ele ai koe mahanga,  
Tama ena ko Fui-fa-malama,  
Tama eni ko Fatai-langalanga,  
Ka koe 'otua ena mo tangata,  
Koe ve'e-kali moe fo'i-maka.

Sinilau do thou judge,  
Hina taken and thrown into mid-ocean,  
Washed about by the sea, landed at  
Kapala,

There she bore twins,  
That youth is Fuhifamalama,  
This youth is Fatailangalanga;  
Those are both spirit and human,  
Leg of a pillow and a stone.

So those who would have slain the lads paused, and the other brother spoke, using the same words. Then Sinilau remembered what had happened, and felt assured that these two lads spoke truth, and that they were his sons. He bade his men to seize the two demon sons and their mother, and bind them. Then their houses were brought and set on fire, and the demons destroyed in the flames. Sinilau then sailed with his sons to the island and brought Hina home, and they all lived together.

#### HINASIOATA AND VAITOKELAU

Once there was a handsome young chief named Vaitokelau (Northern water) who had a large compound, surrounded by eight fences, in the midst of which was his chiefly house (*fale-hau*). He had also a bathing-pool, in which stood a rock, named Tautalakimamana (Telling of love, or Telling a lover). The spaces surrounded by the fences, the house, and the pool were all being kept for a beautiful girl in Samoa, named Hinasioata (Hina mirror), the fame of whose loveliness had reached Vaitokelau. The girl was called Mirror (Sioata) because her skin was so fair and glistening that reflections could be seen in it. The compound was kept by a woman named Suamanu.

One day Vaitokelau went down to the pool, and addressing the rock, said, "Oh, that you could bring Hinasioata from Samoa to be my wife." He spoke at random, but the rock heard, and went to Samoa, and, going

539 ashore at night, stood outside the door of Hina's house. The top of the  
 779 rock was crowned with fragrant shrubs, a veritable little Paradise.

Hina and her women awoke, and were amazed to see the rock and the sweet-smelling plants standing before the house. But presently the maiden bade her women move her sleeping-mats to the surface of the rock, so that she might rest in that refreshing place. This was done, and so Hina slept on the rock, while her attendants (*lahi*) and her mothers (*fae*) slept around on the ground. In the middle of the night the stone moved, went down to the sea, and set off on its return to Tonga. As they went Hina was splashed by a wave, and awakened, to discover that she was in mid-ocean, and thus she made her plaint,

Ta na'e ha'u eni fu'u maka,  
 Tu'u matafale, ta koe mala;  
 Koefe hoto otu takanga,  
 Mo nai fa'e na'e paemaka?

Ah, there came this great rock,  
 Stood before the house; ah, woe;  
 Where is my band of companions,  
 And my dear mothers, a wall to me?

And the rock replied,

Faka'amu 'a Vai-tokelau,  
 'Oku tapu e loto'a e valu,  
 Pea tapu moe vai kaukau;  
 Ka 'oku ke 'ita pea foki atu.

Great the desire of Northern-water,  
 Reserved is the eight-fenced compound,  
 And reserved is the bathing pool;  
 If you are angry then return.

So the maiden was silent, and they went on, and reached Tonga. The rock told the girl to stay on the beach, and sun herself, and that when Vaitokelau came she should go with him, but she must not remain in any of the enclosures of his compound until she came to the central one, and the chiefly house; nor should she tell her name to Vaitokelau. After the rock Tautalakimamana had thus instructed the girl he went and stood in his own place in the pool.

Suddenly Vaitokelau came down to the beach, and, seeing the woman sunning herself, he set himself a sign to know whether she were human or not. If, when he made his presence known by coughing, she should put on her clothing, he would know she was of this world; but if she took no notice, then she was a spirit. So he coughed slightly, and the girl sprang to her dress, a large fringed mat, and put it round her. Then said Vaitokelau, "I greet you at yon sea."

"Yes," she replied, "I greet you from yon inland." Then he asked her where she had been, and she replied that she had been washed about by the sea, and had come ashore there. Vaitokelau asked her to come with him to his home, and they turned inland together. When they reached the outer palisade Vaitokelau called to the wardress Suamanu,



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Suamanu e, Suamanu e,  
Ke sukena e matapa koe,  
Kae to'o 'a Atu-tatoka-taha  
Kae mohe Hungalu-opeopea.

Suamanu e, Suamanu e,  
Let that gate be lifted,  
Let Atu-first-resting-place be opened,  
That Drift-from-the-sea may sleep.

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But Hina replied,

'Ilonga pe fine kuo hala  
Pea mohe 'i Atu-tatoka-taha.

Any woman who has erred  
Will sleep in Atu-first-resting-place.

So that gate was opened, but they did not rest there, but went through to the gate of the second enclosure, where Vaitokelau called,

Suamanu e, Suamanu e,  
Ke sukena e matapa koe,  
Kae to'o 'a Atu-tatoka-ua  
Kae mohe Hungalu-opeopea.

Suamanu e, Suamanu e,  
Let that gate be lifted,  
Let Atu-second-resting-place be opened,  
That Drift-from-the-sea may sleep.

But Hina replied,

'Ilonga pe fine ta'ehua  
Pea mohe 'i Atu-tatoka-ua.

Whoever is a woman displeasing  
Will sleep in Atu-second-resting-place.

So they went through gate after gate. To the invitation to stay in the third enclosure she replied that a woman not right would stay there; at the fourth, that a woman without fame, at the fifth a woman who has done wrong (*hia*); at the sixth, a woman without prudence (*taeloro*); at the seventh, a woman who is wearied (giving in, *fiu*), would remain in these various enclosures; until at the eighth she replied that a woman who has reached her goal (*kuoau*) would sleep there. And so in the innermost enclosure they stayed. That the maiden was able to give the appropriate answers, and so to reach the eighth enclosure, was because the rock Tautalakimamana had instructed her.

Now Vaitokelau had wives who were both spirit and human, and they called their husband to them, and bewitched him, and he became foolish, so that the unfortunate Hina dwelt neglected in her compound, but for the care of the woman who guarded the place. After three days the rock bade to prepare food, and a dress for Hina, to pay a visit to the sick chief. The visit was paid, and as soon as the kava drinking was finished Hina bade the chief farewell, and returned to her own lodgings. The rock had warned her not to drink any of the kava lest it be poisoned.

When they returned from this visit, preparations were made for the ceremonies connected with the first bathing of the chief after his illness (*hifoaki* and *kaukautuku*), proper to the successful issue of his treatment. While these ceremonies were being carried out, the rock got ready to return Hina to Samoa, for he was angry at the chief's lack of appreciation of the lovely maiden.

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779 Accordingly, while the ceremonies were still being carried on, Tautalakimamana called to the maiden, "Hinasioata, come, get on me, and let us go." Only then, when they heard her called, did the people realize that this was the far-famed Hinasioata, for whom so many things had been reserved. Like a flash Vaitokelau ran to stop her, but he was already too late. As the rock carrying Hina passed out through the reef he used an incantation (*tuputupulefanua*) to make the sea rough around the island. Then he swam into the sea, and swam in pursuit, but when he passed through the reef, the rock, which sailed swiftly, was far off. But Hina prayed the rock to wait, saying, "Ah, Tautalakimamana, Vaitokelau will perish."

"Yes, well," answered the rock, "we shall wait, since it is your wish." So they stayed, and when Vaitokelau reached them he climbed up on the rock, and they went on together to Samoa, where they found the people wearing mats, mourning for Hina. Great was the joy at the maiden's return. Then was she wed to Vaitokelau, and they lived happily together. Since then the rock with its fragrant shrubs has stood in their compound, a beautiful verdant sight.

#### HINA, HER BROTHER TULIFAUKIAVE, AND SINILAU

[14] Gifford (22, pp. 184-187) has already presented a version of this tale. The following account differs in several particulars from his.

There were once a man named Fuaimaile (Fruit of myrtle) and his wife Sakoimaile (or Hakoimaile, Offspring of myrtle), to whom were born a daughter, Hinalekia, and, later, a son, Tulifaukiave. The children grew up, and one day, while they were amusing themselves on the beach, the girl, looking out to sea, suddenly exclaimed, "Gracious, one boat, two, three, four, five, six—ten boats!"

"What is it, Hina?" asked her brother in surprise.

"Look," she replied, "at the big fleet of canoes approaching." Surprised as they were, they did not run away, but waited on the beach to see what the fleet might be.

Now both Hina and her brother were surpassingly handsome, and when the canoes came to land they proved to be the fleet of Sinilau, who had heard of Hina's beauty, and had come to take her as his bride. So soon as Sinilau stepped ashore and saw the maiden's loveliness he guessed it was she whom he sought. He asked her if she were Hina, and when she replied that she was he invited both her and her brother to come on board his fleet, and sail away with him to his country. And so they went with Sinilau, and when they arrived in his country a fine large house was assigned to Tulifaukiave, but Sinilau and Hina dwelt in a house that was

still larger and more magnificent. This happy state of affairs had not long continued when it was interrupted by the jealousy of Tulifaukiave which grew in the heart of Sinilau. He could not bear that remark should be made on the youth's beauty, and so he began to plot his death. One day he told Tulifaukiave and his men to accompany him to the forest, to cut timber for boat building and for other purposes. So they went, and traveled far, and penetrated into the midst of a forest of large trees. There, in the heart of the bush, and far from all human habitation, the chief bade them cut timber. Tulifaukiave was surprised, but said nothing. They set to work on a large tree, and when it was nearly falling Sinilau bade Tulifaukiave stand and support it, so that the branches should not be broken in the fall. The youth suspected that this was nothing but a plot to kill him; but it was the bidding of the chief with whom he dwelt as a relative by marriage, and he made no attempt to evade the order. He stood beneath the tree, which was already on the point of falling, and, clasping the huge trunk, he held it, although he knew full well that he would die. The tree was severed, and crashed down upon him, crushing his very bones to pieces.

Then Sinilau rejoiced, for his purpose was achieved. He told his men to prepare food, and they sat down and ate, and drank kava. Their timber cutting was finished, for the youth whom Sinilau hated was dead.

Meanwhile, Hina had felt certain that mischief would befall her brother, for she had long been aware of the murderous designs her husband cherished in his heart against Tulifaukiave. But she had said nothing, for they two were strangers in a strange land. She took a bundle of unprinted bark-cloth, a bottle of oil, and a bowl, and went to a little stream which flowed near their dwelling. There she sat, and watched the water, to see if anything would appear. Suddenly she saw that the stream was running blood, and so she scooped up the blood, and filled her bowl with it. When the flow of blood ceased she sat by the bowl and wept, lamenting for her dear brother, for she knew it was his blood that had flowed down in the stream. And as she wept she looked down into the bowl, and saw that the blood was beginning to congeal; but still she wept. Presently she saw that the blood was becoming firm, like the flesh of a man lying in the bowl. Then, indeed, it did appear a man, who began to move, and sat up alive. He saw his sister and sprang to her, and clasped her in his arms, and they wept together.

The girl quickly recovered her presence of mind, and said that they must make haste to the seashore, and flee before the chief and his men returned from the forest. They ran to the beach, and scuttled every canoe on the sand and in the anchorage, but one, which they boarded, and hoisting the sail, they put to sea.

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773 When they were outside the anchorage the youth called to his sister to steer and manage the sail, while he beat a drum for joy that he was alive and they were free. Now when Sinilau and his men heard the beating of the drum he said to them, "Lads, that seems to be the drum of an approaching canoe. Good; go and dig a hole to bury that carcass, and then we'll go home to receive the voyagers." So they dug the hole, but, finding no body, they returned to the shore, just in time to see the sail of the canoe disappearing over the horizon, and they found that Hina had fled. They knew nothing, however, of what had befallen Tulifaukiave. When they attempted to launch the canoes to pursue the girl, one after one they sank. At last they returned home, chagrined by the loss of so beautiful a woman.

But the brother and sister sailed on, and landed in their own country, where they were discovered on the beach by people coming down to the sea. The people wondered whence they had come, and then they seized them, and took them to the village, to kill and eat.

It was long since Hina and Tulifaukiave had left their own country, and the people thought that they were dead. Fuaimaile's wife had borne him another daughter, who was named Hinalokia, in place of the one lost. Fuaimaile and Sakoimaile were the chiefs of the country, and when the brother and sister were to be slain and eaten the younger Hinalokia called out, "The liver of those two prisoners for my share." The point of the bamboo knife was already on the flesh of Tulifaukiave when his sister cried out, "Ah, Fuaimaile and Sakoimaile, Hinalokia, Tulifaukiave." Likewise, when the knife was about to be plunged into the girl's body, the youth cried out in the same words. So the slayers stayed their hands, and the chiefs inquired from where they were sitting in the house why the delay. So the words of the two were told them. Then the parents remembered their children who were lost, and ran to them with shouts and cries, and wept to receive them again.

Then orders were given to take the two who had returned, and care for them in a fine large house, but the girl who wished to eat their livers was bidden stay in the kitchen and prepare their food; and so has it been ever since.

#### HINALATAHEVAITAFE AND SINILAU

There were once a certain man and his wife, and the woman was pregnant. When her time came to be delivered of her child she called her husband to come and lift her, that she might give birth. But she bore a clam (*vasua*), and her husband threw her down in anger. She, however, bade him take the clam, and leave it in Sinilau's bathing-pool. Now Sinilau came to bathe, and flung the coconut-husk that he had used

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to wash himself with on the water. The clam slid along and sucked the coconut-husk, and became pregnant. 53A  
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One day the woman, the mother of the clam, saw the clam rolling along toward her. She angrily asked the clam why she had come, but the shellfish replied that it was no time for anger, and asked her to curtain off a place in which she could give birth. So a screen was placed, and the clam gave birth to a fine big baby boy. Then she rolled off back to her pool, and the woman cared for the child, who was named Fataihualoahi (Fatai-going-underneath-sandalwood). Time went on, and so, the clam was again with child, and once more came rolling along to the house that she might give birth there to her child. The performance was repeated and again the clam bore a fine boy, who was named Mailefihinoahefatai (Myrtle-twined-at-random-in-the-fatai). He, too, was left with the woman and her husband to be cared for.

When the two children had grown up to manhood the woman heard that Sinilau was going to hold a festival, and she determined that her two grandsons should be present. So she called the youths, and bade them prepare, adding that the man to whose festival they were going was their father. When they came to where the festival was being held they were gazed at by all the people. There was not a woman but had her eyes fixed on them. As they went along a group of women called to them to turn aside to them, but the two youths refused, and went on, until they came to where the kava was being drunk. There they served the kava.

But Sinilau, angry at their disturbing his festival, ordered two bowls to be brought. Then he bade his men seize one of the youths and cut him up. So the bamboo knife was sharpened to cut him, but when its point was placed on his body it just slipped over his skin, and he cried out,

Tu'u e kofe pea matafi,  
Ka ke nofo pe mo ke hila mai  
Pe 'oku ma hoko atu pe 'ikai.

The knife is placed, and slips (?),  
Do thou but sit and glance at us  
Whether we are like thee or not.

Then Sinilau asked what the youth had said, and they repeated the lines to him. So he ordered the two young men to be brought, and asked them who their father was. They replied that he himself was their father. After Sinilau had kissed his new-found sons he told them to go and bring their mother. So they went to the pool and got the clam, and took her to their grandmother, who broke it open, and there stood forth a lovely woman, named Hinalatahevaitafe (Hina at home in the river).

Then they set out on their return to Sinilau. Each of the youths wore a fringed mat, of the sort called *taufonua*; but their mother had on one of the very fine mats called *tuoua*. The two sons went ahead, and Hina followed. When they came to Sinilau they found him sitting with his

539 wives. The youths sat one at each thigh of Sinilau, and Hina sat at his  
 779 side. Then Sinilau bade the people go and prepare an oven, and heat it  
 hot; and they took the wives and their children, and killed and baked  
 them; but Sinilau was wedded to Hinalatahevaitafe. (See 22, p. 103.)

HINA MO NUKUOKAKALA<sup>1</sup>

(Dialect of Niua Foou)

Ko te tau-pooa ko Hina, pea na feongoaki mo te mamea ko Sinilau, pea faifai tena feongoaki kua ka la kei manono ia Hina kua tokanga kia Sinilau. Pea hau leva i te aho e taha o too mai tona kiefav o vala, pea too mai leva mo tona kafakula o fau; pea alu atu leva mo te vaa-akau o hopo ki tai, o kaukau; o tau leva ki te fenua o Sinilau.

Pea ake leva ki uta o tautu i te matatai, kae vevete tona vala e tauaki. Pea moe te iloange kua olo ifo ia fafine e toka lua mei te kau nofoanga o Sinilau ko tena utu tai. Pea na sisio ifo leva ki te fafine; pea na mahalo ko te faahikehe i tona fakafoofa; pea fai leva tena talotalo, "Kapau e ta o atu eni o utu teta tai ka oho ki tona vala, ta ko te mama; pea kapau e puli ai leva ta ko te faahikehe."

Pea na o atu leva o lutulutu tena tai, pea oho leva ki tona vala, o vala leva o tautu i te oneone. Pea na lea atu leva ki ai, "Malo tau lelei"; Pea tali mai leva te fafine, "Malo te kolua lelei." Pea utu leva tena tai o na o naya, o tala kia Sinilau, "Oku ai te fafine fakafoofa oku nofo nei i tai; he oku lau mai ape ia Hina pea oku tatau mo te fafine". Pea fekau leva e Sinilau ki taulua tangata, "Kolua olo ki tai o aumai te fafine ki heni." Pea na o leva, o noutou o, o ake kia Sinilau. Pea kua mate ia Sinilau i te manako i te fafine. Pea tuutuuni atu leva e Sinilau ke katoa tona fenua o tanaki meakai o faoaki i te fale, mo tauhi te fafine. Pea fai leva ia tona kainga. Pea pongipongi age kua osi te meakai ia kua fetuku e te kau sinifu a Sinilau, o ave o li ki tai. Pea noutou tala leva kia Sinilau, "Ta, ko te atua mo tangata te fafine nei. Koeni kua osi te meakai ia i tana hanga o kai". Pea fekau leva a Sinilau ke noutou fakataha mai te kau sinifu, o lau te kili o te fafine aki te u ngasi kuku; pea ave leva o li ki te a puaka, pea fafanga aki te kaikainanga. Pea tangi ia te taahine kua manatu ki tona fenua mo tena matua i tena hau o nofo paea pehe mo faingataaia.

Ka nee i ai te tehina o Sinilau ko Kukuokakala, pea ko te aho hau te tangata mo he konga meakai o age ki te fafine, pea kai ia te aho ia. Pea hoko ki te aho pea toe hau te tangata mo he koga meakai mo he matai-ika o ange ki te fafine. Pea pehe mai leva te fafine kia Nukuokakala, "Haua, kua malo aupito siau ofa, ka ke hau o kumi mai he vaka kau alu ai ki sioku fenua." Pea alu leva a Nukuokakala o aumai tona vaka o na folau ai.



Pea toe alu ifo a Sinilau kua fakaheka atu te folau o toe holi ange ke noutou o. Pea pehe mai e Nukuokakala, "Nofo koe he ko te vaka uta tevolo eni ia." Pea kailoa aupito nofo Sinilau ia. Pea noutou o aipe, o tau atu leva ki te fenua o te fafine. Pea pehe mai e Hina ke pa he fana ke fakaha aki ki uta, "Koau eni kuou toe mauili mai." Pea pa atu leva te fana ka kua silongo te fenua ko te fai mea fakaaliki o te taahine. Pea hau leva tona vakai mei uta pe kotea te fana; pea tala atu leva ko Hina. Pea toki ta te mea kehekehe i uta ko te fakafiefia o te taahine kua toe mauili ange. Pea noutou ake leva ki uta; ta ko te ofefine o te tui te taahine, pea fai leva tena katoanga kua na mali mo Nukuokakala.

Pea alu atu te fekau a Sinilau kia Nukuokakala, hau ke na o o aalo, heiilo e mau he atu maa Hina. Pea na o leva o fai tena aalo, pea mau atu e lua, pea pehe mai e Sinilau, "Tafa pe taha ke ta ota, kae tuku he taha ke-ave maa Hina." Pea tafa leva te atu e taha, pea pehe atu leva e Sinilau, "Mai taku kongia atu; pea ke hau pe o aumai, aua naa li." Pea kamata tuu ake a Nukuokakala ke aumai, pea toe ui atu ki li pe. Pea li mai, pea ina hanga o tai aki te foe ki tai te kongia atu. Pea fekau leva ke hopo o too ake. Pea ko tana mapuna ake kua tuu te hoka i tona vahenga umu. Pea mate leva ia a Nukuokakala ia, kae alu ake leva a Sinilau mo te foi atu o ave kia Hina. Pea alu atu ia kua alu ia Hina ia ki Pulotu o kumi tona mali.

Ka ko te kui a Hina ne tui i Pulotu, pea alu atu ia oku tuna tena ufi mangavala, pea alu atu leva o pakii te manga e taha o kai. Pea hau te finematua o eke pe kua pakii e ai tena ufi; pea tala atu e Hina. Pea eke mai pe kotea oku alu ange ai, pea ina ui atu, "Ko toku mali kua mate." Pea ui leva te finematua ke hau te mate kotoape, pea hau ia oku mulimuli mai te tangata oku tuu pe te tao i tona uma. Pea ui atu te finematua ke hau ia, "Kae olo kotou, kae hau te tangata oku tuu ai te tao;" pea ui atu leva ki tona mali, "Aumai te holoholo ke holoholo, aumai te hina ke takai, aumai te helu mo te sioata ke helu, ka kolua olo ki mama".

Pea fai te ngahi mea ia o osi; pea pehe mai leva te finematua, "Kolua olo i tea?" Pea talaange te taahine, "E ma olo i te kemo;" pea kemo leva te finematua, pea na o mai leva ki mama kua mauili te tangata.

#### HINA AND NUKUOKAKALA

(English Translation)

There was a virgin named Hina, and she and the handsome man Sinilau heard reports of one another, and as time went on and they continually heard one another's praises Hina could rest no longer, because of her

599 thought upon Sinilau. So one day she clothed herself with her fine mat,  
 719 and took her necklace and put it on, and she went with a pole<sup>2</sup> and leapt  
 into the sea, and swam, and came to the land of Sinilau.

As soon as she came ashore she sat on the beach, having taken off her garment to dry it in the sun. And lo, two women from among the dwellers with Sinilau went down to fetch sea water. And they saw the woman, and, deeming her a spirit because of her beauty, they set themselves a sign; if, as they went on to draw their water from the sea, she sprang to her garment, then she was human; but if she disappeared they would know she was a spirit.

So they went down, and splashed up their sea water, and the girl sprang to her garment, and clothed herself, and sat on the sand. Then they spoke to her, bidding her welcome, and the woman returned their salutation. Getting their sea water, they returned, and told Sinilau, "There is a lovely woman now sitting on the beach; they talk about Hina, and this woman is like her."

Straightway Sinilau bade two men, "Go to the sea and bring the woman here." And they went, and returned with her, and came to Sinilau. And Sinilau was filled with love [literally, was dead with love] for the maiden, and bade all his land go and gather food, and store it in the house to provide for the woman. And his people did so. But when morning came the food was finished, for Sinilau's wives had taken it and thrown it into the sea. And they told Sinilau, "Lo, this woman is both spirit and human. She has eaten the food, and it is finished."

Then Sinilau bade his wives gather together, and pinch the skin of the woman with mussel shells (*kuku*); and they took her and cast her into the pig yard, and fed her with left-over scraps of food. Then the maiden wept as she remembered her land and parents, that she had come to dwell in such desolation and hardship. Now Sinilau had a younger brother, named Nukuokakala (Place of sweet blossoms), and he used to come each day with a portion of food for the woman, and she would eat it for that day. And on the next day he would come again with a portion of food, and a fish, and give to the woman. And the woman said to Nukuokakala, "Come now, I am most thankful for your kindness; but come, seek me a boat, that I may go to my own dear land." So Nukuokakala straightway went and brought his boat for them to sail away. Now Sinilau went down while they were embarking, and desired to go with them. But Nukuokakala replied, "Do thou stay, for this is a boat with a spirit passenger." But Sinilau steadfastly refused to stay; and so they sailed together, and came to the woman's country. And Hina bade them fire a gun<sup>3</sup>, as a signal to the shore, "Here am I, I am come again alive." And

when the gun report was heard the land was in deep silence, for they were observing funeral rites for the maiden. And people came at once down to the shore to see the reason of the report, and were told that it was Hina. Then were various things beaten in the land, rejoicing for the maiden who had safe returned. So they went ashore. Now the maiden was the daughter of the king, and they celebrated her marriage with Nukuokakala.

And Sinilau sent a messenger to Nukuokakala, suggesting that they go fishing, for, perchance, they might get a bonito for Hina. And so they went fishing, and caught two bonito, and Sinilau said, "Cut one up for us to eat raw, and leave one to take to Hina." So one was cut up, and Sinilau said, "Give me my piece of bonito; come and bring it, don't throw it." As Nukuokakala was rising to bring it, Sinilau called again just to throw it. When he threw the piece of bonito Sinilau struck it into the sea with the oar, and then ordered Nukuokakala to jump into the water and get it. As he sprang up to obey, Sinilau stabbed him between the shoulders. So Nukuokakala died, but Sinilau returned to land with the bonito for Hina; but when he went to take the fish to her Hina had gone to Pulotu, seeking her husband.<sup>4</sup>

Now Hina's grandmother was queen in Pulotu, and was cooking an eight-branched yam when Hina reached there. And Hina broke off one branch of the yam, and ate it. When the old woman came and asked who had broken a piece from her yam, Hina told her. And she asked why she had come, and Hina answered, "For my husband who is dead." And the old woman called all the dead to come; and, as they came, last of all was the man with the spear in his shoulder. So she called him to come, bidding all the others go, but the man in whom the spear was. And she called to his wife, "Bring the cloth to wipe him, bring the bottle to anoint him, bring the comb and mirror to dress his hair; then you two return to earth."

And everything was done, and finished, and the old woman asked, "What are you going in?"

And the lady replied, "We shall go in the wink"; and the old woman winked, and they came at once to earth with the man alive.

#### KULUFAU AND HINA

(Dialect of Niua Foa)

Ko te taulua matua pea faelei leva tena tamasii, pea hingoa ko Kulufau, pea toe faelei tena taahine o hingoa ko Hina. Pea na nonofo nonofo pea o leva te taulua matua ki uta o fai tena ngaue o huo, pea osi tena huo, pea na o ifo leva ki lalo kua puli te taahine, kua hanga tona tuongaane o tamatei. Pea na eke atu leva kia Kulufau pe kofea ia Hina, pea tala mai e Kulufau oku ka la ina iloi, "nee fai pe hena tana fai helu, kae fai pe taku fai umu."

539 Pea pehe atu leva te taulua matua, "Koeni kua ka la iloa." Pea toki tangi  
 773 mai leva te taahine mei tua—ka ko te hingoa o te taulua matua ko Kuku mo  
 Kukue,

E Kuku mo Kukue  
 Veveli veveli te kolua ngoue,  
 Kolua o mai kuou mate;  
 Kua te leleo mo Kulufau,  
 Fofoa kofe mo auau,  
 Ne lau eau ko toku fakangakau;

Toku ulu ena i te teftoi-fau,  
 Toku kongaloto i te vao-tamanu,  
 Toku tenga i te lu a Kulufau,  
 Toku ngakau tanu i te tafa,  
 Toku toto i te lalo tapakau,  
 Toku kofetafa i te nifoi-au.

Pea toki ita leva te taulua matua; "Ta, ko te tamasii fakapo eni; tau hanga o tamatei ia Hina." Pea loi atu leva te tamasii, "Oku ka lau iloi ia au." Pea hanga leva te taulua matua o tamatei ia Kulufau, o tao, o fakaafu leva te kongaumu, pea toki tafa leva a Kulufau, o tao o ai, o kai e te taulua matua.

#### KULUFAU AND HINA

There was once a married couple, Kuku and Kukue, to whom was born a boy, named Kulufau. Afterwards a girl was born, and named Hina. Time went on, and it happened one day that the parents went inland to do their work, and weed their garden. When their work was finished they went down home, and the girl could not be found, because her brother had killed her. They asked Kulufau where Hina was, but he replied that he did not know, "she was yonder combing her hair, while I was cooking food." And the parents told him that she had disappeared. Then the girl cried from outside—now the names of the parents were Kuku and Kukue—

Ah Kuku and Kukue,  
 You were busily tending your garden,  
 You have returned, I am dead;  
 I stayed at home with Kulufau,  
 He split bamboo and sharpened it,  
 I guessed to disembowel me.  
 My head is yonder by the root of the fau,

The middle of my body in the clump of  
 tamanu,  
 My thigh in the cooked leaves of Kulu-  
 fau,  
 My bowels are buried in the hole,  
 My blood beneath the floor-mats,  
 My bamboo-knife in the roof-tenon.

Then were the parents angry. "This indeed is a murderous boy; thou hast gone and slain Hina."

And the boy lied, "I know nothing about it." And the parents slew  
 [246] Kulufau. They heated the oven, and cut up Kulufau, and baked him, and  
 put him before them; and the parents ate him.

came to the wall, and, as he was climbing it the hidden brother shook it, and brought it down, killing the demon. Then he went on, and they all escaped. 539

#### TAFAKULA AND THE ORIGIN OF THE PAPAYA

The gods of Tonga reared a high rock on the weather side of Eua, so high that Samoa could be seen from its top. The gods of Samoa resented this, and came by night to remove the offending watchtower; but before they had completed their task Tafakula, a goddess of Eua, took off her kilt and presented her posteriors to the Samoans. Tafakula's body<sup>1</sup> was of such ruddy hue that the Samoans thought the sun was rising, and fled. Then the stooping deity evacuated her bowels, and the faeces formed the first papaya fruit. 539 778 824

#### THE SAMOAN AND THE TONGAN EXCHANGE GIFTS

Long ago there were coconuts in Tonga, but not in Samoa, and there were fowls in Samoa, but not in Tonga. A Samoan god asked a Tongan god for a coconut, which the Tongan agreed to give in exchange for a fowl. Each, however, prepared a deceit. Instead of a fowl the Samoan caught an owl to give to the Tongan, and the Tongan scooped the inside out of the coconut which he took, leaving only the husk. So the two met and exchanged their gifts, and as they parted the Samoan said, "Alua mo moa lulu," (Farewell with fowl owl); to which the Tongan replied, "Alua mo niu-niu<sup>1</sup> pulu," (Farewell with near-nut husk.) 539

#### THE TWO GIRL FRIENDS

There were once cannibals living outside the village of Haavakatolo, in a place called Talikai (Wait for food or Received and eaten), so-called because whoever went there never returned. Among these people were a man named Lolotonga and his wife. They had a little daughter, who was the friend of a young girl in the village. The two girls were inseparable, and slept in one another's homes, sometimes in the village, and sometimes in the cannibal settlement.

One night, when the girls were to sleep in the cannibal compound, Lolotonga and his wife determined to kill and eat their daughter's friend. To their own daughter they gave a string of beads (*kula*) and a wooden pillow (*hahapo*) and to the girl from the village they gave a necklace of another sort, called *toloni*. When they lay down to sleep they bade the village girl lie on the side next to themselves, and their own daughter on the side towards the wall. That night the two girls lay awake for a long time, till at last the man became angry and told them to go to sleep. But the bush

## NOTES

## Page 8. Maui in Eua

1. The *si* is apparently the well-known *Cordyline terminalis*; the leaves used in making girdles, the root for sweetening food. Pratt (30) says that in Samoa the root was used as food in times of scarcity. Doubtless the Tongans also ate it when other food was not plentiful.

## Pages 10-11. Stories of Tongatabu

1. Vaileua, called also Touia. Possibly one name is that of the ground in which the pool was situated, and the other that of the pool itself.

2. No other occurrence of the word *haulefa* is known to me.

3. A party which includes one chief or a number of chiefs is referred to collectively as *houeiki* (chiefs), and chiefly language is used with reference to them.

## Page 11. The well Veemumuni

1. The term *vai* (water), here translated "well" is applied to lake, spring, pool of fresh water, the sea, and river, frequently without distinction, but descriptive words are sometimes added, for example, *vai-tafe*, flowing water (river); *vai-tapu*, springing water (spring).

## Page 12. Road to Pulotu

1. Smith (33, pp. 35, 36) thinks that in this duality of position of the Spirit-world, which is common throughout Polynesia, there is a confusion of two meanings of *raro*, *lalo* (so), down and west.

## Page 16. Tuipulotu's house in Pulotu

1. Tuipulotu is a frequently occurring proper name, both of men and women. Mariner mentions Tuipulotu as a minor god of the sea and voyages, and protector of Finau's family (28, vol. 2, p. 107).

2. Accounts of Samoan marriage ceremony are given by Kramer (26, vol. 1, p. 38); by Brown (6, p. 21); and by Collocott (11).

## Pages 17-20. Lolongovavau, daughter of Hina and Sinilau

1. It is not necessary to assume that every occurrence of the names Hina and Sinilau concerns Hina, connected with moon and sea, and Sinilau or Tinirau, son of the sun, connected with sea and fishes. I have heard the Tongan opinion expressed that there is a tendency for stories of handsome men and their beautiful wives to attach themselves to the names of Sinilau and Hina. In this tale, however, there are many features of Hina stories.

2. The mother's side of the house is subordinate to the father's, and from that side is most likely to come such a guardian as *Ofamaikiatama*.

3. There are frequent mentions of speaking *puko* tree, or a speaking tree, but this identification of two trees, as indicated by the two expressions, is rare.

4. The expression *Alu hake ki mama* means "went up to light." The word *mama* (light) is a usual one for the world of human beings, and for human beings themselves; *Mamani*, which apparently means this light, is practically a proper name of this world.

5. Persons greeting one another commonly refer to what the other is doing; that is, *Ofamaikiatama* says "Malo e maimoa" (Malo the game), and *Lolomatokelau* replies, "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, malo the journey). The word *malo*, sometimes rather colorless, expresses thanks, approval, appreciation. A very common form of greeting of people meeting on the road is the simple question "Were you in such a place?"

6. See p. 12 for reference to roads to Pulotu. Gifford gives *Niuaunofa* as the northwestern point of Tongatabu. This is a few miles north from the road to Pulotu on the weather coast near the village of Foui.



539 7. The good will of her husband's sisters is of importance to a woman: for  
779 example, one of the causes assigned for difficult labor is the ill will of the husband's  
775 sisters.

775 8. The literal translation of *toahine* is girl, maiden. This is a respectful term,  
[607] used of chiefly women, irrespective of marriage or age. In the same way *tama*, *tamasii*  
[845] (lad, boy) is applied to men who are chiefs.

122 9. This line is difficult. It is perhaps a proper name applied to the sleeping wife.  
[126] Utukaunaga is evidently a place name and translated it indicates the place where the  
[192] man lies, and where his body, anointed with sweet oil, has been so foully used.

539 10. The expression *ia te'e tama*, was thus written by the writer, who took the  
779 story down. *Te'e* in this position is unknown to me; possibly it is *te*, the rare article.  
775 It is provisionally translated "my."

361 11. Onemalama is the compound or area within which the compound of Lolo-  
[192] matokelau was situated. Haatafu, a wider name, is the village or area embracing  
539 Onemalama and other places. This is a very common feature of present-day nomen-  
779 clature but possibly it was not so common earlier. This story does not appear to be  
775 recent and it is possible "in Haatafu" is added by the modern narrator to assist identi-  
[192] fication. It is said that the gathering of Tongans into comparatively large villages is  
a recent innovation, originating perhaps in war, and encouraged by the needs of present-  
day education and religion.

[192] Pages 23-25. Sinilau and Hina, daughter of Puko

539 1. The expression "branching ivory" (*lei-mangamanga*) seems to be quite un-  
779 known to present-day Tongans, but probably indicates the female pudenda. "*Lei man-*  
[192] *gamanga*" is probably connected with the *rei* of Atu" (13, no. 3). Best (3) writes  
of "the curious stone artifact of Atiu fashioned to resemble and represent the female  
organ."

Pages 25-26. Hina, Sinilau, and the jealous demon wife

[849] 1. The idiom for a pregnant woman's longing for a special food is rather striking.  
She is said to be pregnant, or to have conceived, to the food. In this instance: Hina  
*oku tuituia ki he atu*.

2. *Ko Vahi e*, literally, "That is Hawaii" (17, No. 358).

3. *Patailangalanga*, climbing fatai (*Cassytha filiformis*?). *Fuhifamalama*, cluster  
of gleaming hala.

539 4. Kapala is perhaps the island of Kambara, Fiji; but several places, not islands,  
779 are also called Kapala (21).

[109] Pages 34-37. Hina and Nukuokakala

[197] 1. Doubtless the dialect of Niua Foa, as spoken today, has been modified by the  
language of the main part of Tonga.

[193] 2. The steep rocky shores of Niua Foa afford little accommodation for boats.  
The natives support themselves in swimming with a long, light pole under the arm.

3. Firing a gun, the modern narrator's version of what was presumably the beating  
the drum.

[192] 4. *Mali*, that is, English "marry" (or French, *mari*), both used as noun, of either  
husband or wife, and as a verb.

Pages 39-41. Kulakehahau and Tongamauluau

539 1. The heroine's name is spelled "Tonga-maulu'au," and "Tonga-mauluu." The  
hero's name is spelled both "Kulakehahau" and "Kulakihahau."

2. The probable translation of *Keuifanafana* is "Overcome by a whisper."

[192] 3. The respectful word for speech, *folofola*, is used properly enough by the  
[195] maiden to her lover; *taataa*, an equally respectful term for blood seems less proper  
when used by the girl of herself. No one, not even the greatest chief, uses respectful  
terms of himself. Probably the exigencies of rhyme have forced the word upon the  
narrator.

[192] 4. In my copy of text, *kamosia* stands *kanosia*, a word which I do not know. I  
conjecture that *kamosia*, meaning signed to, beckoned, persuaded, is correct.

5. This is either the name of the man's compound, or simply a common noun  
meaning gathering place of companions.

539 *Dracaena* (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sisi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetos and Toloise are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

[109] 4. The champion of Veifeife is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifeife is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veeife.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

[538] 1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uia* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *hau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

[538] 1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ke ho'o foni ne fai*, "Your foni did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

[302] 2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. [585] Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse? [837]

[538] 3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuapahi Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 553).

[825] Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

[776] 1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

[776] Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

539 The *matahelehele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer gives *matahelele* as *filos* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matahelehele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it. [825]

[109] 2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan. [531]

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

539 1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of the demon: *nifoloo*, *foahikehe*, and *tevelo*. [192]

2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua*. The form of the word is Samoan rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines *Tuputupuwhenua* as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called *Tumutumuwhenua*." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear. [182] [192] [197]

3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans. [177] [845] [732]

Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

[779] 1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated [824] with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

[146] 1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *nin* (*nug*) can perhaps be best [115] rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

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6. The references are to various mats of Tonga and to collecting them, figuratively, as a gift in honor of the dead man. The italicized words are names of mats. Tungua, Matuku, Uha, Lifuka, are all in Haapai.

7. The reference is to the Tamaha (the daughter or son) of the Tui Tonga Fefine. The Tamaha lived in Tungua. Here she is called Falotuma, a species of hula. "Even if a mat obtained from Tungua should prove to be of not much account as a mat yet it derives value from its origin in the island of Tamaha" (12, pp. 178-189).

7a. "Mat of red feathers" means "mat adorned with red feathers." The form *hulu hulu* is interesting, as the normal Tongan would be *fulu hulu*. This form hints at the likelihood of the introduction of the adornment of mats with red feathers from some one or other of the groups of islands farther east.

8. Plover (*hiu*) and double-bird (*manulua*) are two of the designs used on the native cloth.

9. Toku is a name occurring in several parts of Tonga (21), but evidently here it is one or other of the places so named in Vavau.

10. Late is a high volcanic island southwest from the main part of the Vavau group. "Clothing for Mua" (the capitol) would be a mat of good kind that was customarily used as a dress for Mua.

11. The poet having finished what he has to say about the mats and cloth of Tonga will now sail to Samoa to collect further wealth. Ulamoleka is still remembered as a very expert navigator, and these lines give him the opportunity to use his knowledge of the stars. The names used, such as Amonga and Tupa (16, pp. 4-9) are star names. The opportunity of direct identification of the stars by their Tongan names seems to have passed irrevocably. Amonga, which is not included in my earlier list, is given by Pratt, for Samoa, as "The name of the stars which form the belt of Orion." Alotulu seems to be another name for the same stars. A very important part of the equipment of the skillful navigator was the knowledge when to leave one star as a guiding mark and pass on to the next (compare "Then pass on and leave," line 43). These lines may recall a voyage which Ulamoleka and Falepapalangi had actually made in company to Samoa.

12. These lines seem to mean that Ulamoleka was able to keep his boat ahead of Falepapalangi's, probably recalling a voyage they had made.

13. Manuka, or Manua, the eastern part of Samoa.

14. Nafanua was a goddess of Savaii, one of the eastern islands of Samoa. She was the daughter of Saveasiuleo, god of Puloa (36, p. 38; 26, vol. 1, p. 23). In Tongan myth Nafanua is the twin sister of Topukulu, and the daughter of Tokilangafonua and his sister Hina. Tokilangafonua went to Samoa and thither the twin sisters, who were then joined back to back, swam to find him. Their father on seeing them and not knowing who they were, made as though he would strike them; in their alarm the girls jumped apart and were separated. The girls did not know their father, and in their ignorance both became pregnant to him. Topukulu became the mother of the sea god Hemoanuliuli, and Nafanua, of the goddess Tafakula, of Eua. The lines in the poem would seem to mean that Falepapalangi was to remain in Savaii while Ulamoleka passed on eastwards to Manua, although the preceding lines would imply that they both went to Manua. Nafanua is one of the notable personalities on the way, and they turn aside to honor her, either by an actual going ashore and presenting kava at her temple, or, more probably, by the poet honoring her by remembrance in his verses.

15. Sau and Leiatua are said to be two chiefs in Samoa to whom Tongans used to go for mats.

16. The translation of this line uncertain.

17. The names mentioned are places in Fiji, which are now called upon to furnish their quota of fit presents.

18. The text at this place is bad and both text and translations are conjectural.

19. I can not find any appropriate meaning for the Tongan word *kouta*, and conjecture that it is the Fijian *nggouta* (strike), though it is doubtful if even this would give an appropriate meaning.

20. The "hidden wealth" is presumably the gift of the bard. Why this should weary him is difficult to see, unless the meaning is that while he had been thinking of mats and cloth for a present the hidden wealth of his muse has been longing to break forth.

21. With the picture of the pigeon not yet properly trained and breaking its

cord when the hunter attempts to pull it back to him, is probably the figure of courting a girl who is yet too shy and coy to respond to the advances of her lover.

22. "That it be of comfort and use to thee on sea and land."

23. "Thou art skilled in its taking" signifies "Being a bard yourself, and able to carry things of this sort about with you in your mind." How skilled he was in this taking, Falepapalangi presently proved by repeating the whole piece.

24. These lines seem to be a general approval of liberal culture.

25. This apparently is a modest depreciation of his own efforts. Anopepe is in Eua.

26. "Like a steep cliff" is the poet's inability to do justice to the dead man, or to the merits of Falepapalangi. "Two throws strike its face," a very intelligent Tongan explained as indicating a high cliff where a stone dropped from the top struck the cliff face before falling to the bottom; but since two throws are mentioned it would rather suggest throwing a stone from the bottom.

27. The mother of Hikuleo was Havealolofonua, one of the original goddesses, born of seaweed and mud. This hint of her living with Hikuleo in Pulotu (Hikuleo was the god of Pulotu) is very rare, if not unique, in Tongan myth. The Samoan god of Pulotu was Saveasileo, preserving in himself both the names Havea and Hikuleo (26; 15. No. 3, p. 276). An old Maui, the grandfather of Maui Kisiaki, is represented as living in the underworld.

28. Atamusi and Atavaha are said to be two gods from Pulotu who brought some forms of wealth to men. The wish is expressed that all the wealth brought by these two, and all the wealth brought in modern times from foreign lands could be given to Falepapalangi to console him in his grief. There is said to have been a man living in Tonga some time ago who was called the Ponepe. I have conjectured that he came from Ponape. The war flag of France is perhaps a reference to the visit of a French vessel of war in the forties of last century. Nuse is presumably New Zealand, although now the Tongans call that country Niu Sila.

29. Konaofafine (Treasure of women) is a name for Falepapalangi.

#### Pages 82-84. Falepapalangi's last poem

1. The name Haapai stands at the head of this piece and at the end, a note that it is the last poem of Falepapalangi.

2. The sneeze is not always a sign of bad luck. It is supposed to be a good sign in a sick man. One informant, however, says that to sneeze in sleep is a sign of death; a sneeze lying on right side is an omen of death on the father's side of the family, if on left, of death on the mother's side, and if the one who sneezes is lying on his back it is a sign of his own death. In ordinary usage a sneeze is greeted with a laugh, as it is said to indicate that someone is in love with the person who sneezes. This recalls the propitious sneezes in Catullus' well-known lines. To sneeze, however, just before entering on some enterprise is said to be a bad sign.

3. Uluakimapa is a nickname (*hinga fakatenetene*) of some chief. These names are always pleasant.

4. By this metaphor of the sea Falepapalangi indicates the coming of his sickness upon him.

5. Some lines possibly have fallen out at this point. There are indicated instances of wrong procedure on the part of a *matapule*, the poet himself, in this instance. He describes his conducting a kava ceremony without having a piece of the root before him. He also describes some wrong disposal of the food (*fono*) served with the kava.

6. This is another sea metaphor; to come up to the wind here means "sailed well up to the wind of success."

7. The text expresses his misplaced confidence and pride; he regarded himself as a man of mark.

8. "To level the hill" is "to lay himself low."

9. Uluakiheilala is a nickname of some chief. The *heilala* is one of the plants used in the garlands and girdles. The chief, in his anxiety for Falepapalangi, gives orders for a boat to be got ready to sail to some place where there is a temple and sanctuary, to supplicate there, and turn away the anger of the god.

10. Heataukakapa is another nickname, probably that of a chief who was a friend of Falepapalangi.

11. The bird of heaven is an omen, presaging the death of Falepapalangi. Kaimotokanga (eat and attend) is a proverbial expression for proceeding warily. The bird

539 181. Kai aipe manu vaivai i he fangota ae lulutai: Weak animals  
825 are just eaten up when the *lulutai* goes fishing.

773 The *lulutai*, which would seem to mean literally the sea-owl, is alleged to have been a great bird and is identified, though without certainty, with the mythological *kanicatu*, the huge bird to whose breast Kae elung and was borne across the ocean from Pulotu to Samoa. With regard to this proverb it is said that when the *lulutai* went out for fish the larger sea creatures, such as the whale, were the object of his quest to be taken home to his haunts. Smaller creatures were merely tit-bits casually  
[57] swallowed by the way. So do the strong prey upon the weak, destroying  
[82] and consuming them as a thing hardly worth noticing.

539 182. Lofa tala matangi: Tern telling wind.

825 The appearance of the tern (*Sterna* sp.) indicates the approach of a  
821 hurricane. Expressions of this sort are capable of much the same applica-  
[136] tion in Tongan as in English: for example, when you see So-and-So coming  
you always know that something is the matter.

539 183. Lulu taki lulu: Owl leading owl.

825 Used generally of the mating of things that suit each other. It is  
581 said to have originated with the marriage of Fiŋita Puku, son of the Tui  
Haangana, with Fatafeli Lapaha, the Female Tui Tonga. Both man and  
woman were exceedingly handsome.

539 184. Mamahi noa ngutu o fuiva: Mouth of fly-catcher (*Myioles-*  
825 *tes heinci*) labors in vain; or labor in vain of the mouth of the  
829 fly-catcher.

461 The fly-catcher has a sweet note, but his singing is mere waste of  
[136] time so far as getting food is concerned. So used of anyone who goes to  
much pains but gets no fruit for his labor. This expression was used of a  
chief who was vainly assiduous in his addresses to a lady.

539 185. Tengetenga utuaki maa miji: *Tengetenga* carrying (food)  
825 for *miji*.

829 *Tengetenga* is a local name in Niua Tohubatu (Keppel's Island) for  
571 the *fuiva* (fly-catcher, *Myiolestes heinci*); *miji* is also the name of a bird  
[136] (*Aplonis tabuensis*). The *tengetenga* is the smaller of these two birds, and  
the phrase is used for the weak helping the strong. "the poor feeding the  
rich." (Baker.)

539 186. Molumalu faka-kaka: Fine like a parrot.

825 The parrot (*kaka*) found in Eua has an abundance of handsome  
plumage and with his feathers on looks a large full-fleshed bird. Divested  
of this showy covering his body is found to be small and thin. Applied to  
that which is showy but is found to be of little worth.



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215. *Aunga mo kaunanga*: Fishing with a servant woman. 539

*Aunga*, translated fishing, means rather the place where the fishing is done, or other rendezvous. The meaning is to have an appointment with one who is under the orders of another and is not free to see the sport, or what not, for which the meeting was arranged. It is also used of, say, fishing in company with one who wants to take the fruit of the sport to the chief, keeping none for the fishers. 226 571 [622]

216. *Fangota fai ki he kato ava*: Fishing into the basket with a hole in it. 539 226 773 776

This expression is analogous to such English expressions as "carrying water in a sieve." It is said to owe its origin to the ruse of the legendary hero Longopoa who sailed to Pulotu, the Tongan Paradise and Abode of the Dead. Longopoa wished to find his way back to Tonga but did not see how it could be managed. At length he saw his opportunity in a fishing expedition of some of the gods of Pulotu in which he was invited to join. Being entrusted with the basket into which the spoil was to be put, he made a hole in the end of it and as fast as the fish handed to him by the divine sportsmen were put in they fell out through the hole. In this way the fishing excursion was prolonged until the party reached Tonga, as Longopoa had foreseen and designed. As they were fishing the gods would now and again ask, "How's our basket? Full yet?" And Longopoa would as often reply, "No, there's still room." At length the gods exclaimed in surprise, "Why, this is fishing into a leaky basket."

217. *Petuiaki a kupenga tutui*: Mixing of fishermen who go straight through entanglements. 539 226 571 461

*Tutui* means to go right through obstacles, as one who bursts through jungle or brush. The phrase indicates fishing parties who have come into close proximity, but waste no time in talking to each other or even in exchanging the civilities that the rank of any of the fishers might ordinarily demand. Fishing, moreover, was an occupation that did not wait on man, the proper times for the fish being marked by moon and tide; it is a case of now or never. The expression is applied to people or parties of workmen who will not be diverted from their occupation by outside interruptions. Baker gives: "The contest of two persons or parties equally strong or courageous."

218. *Hala kez ahia*: Faulty but tried. 539 226

Nets and snares for both land and sea creatures were examined and tested. It might happen that the sportsmen at last weary of trying to correct a weakness or fault in their net or snare, determined to give it a trial, when, although not very optimistic of the result, they make a fine catch. Never mind what the net or snare is like give it a trial, who knows what luck we may have?

219. *Hage ha pa iloa*: Like a famous hook. [552]

Fish-hooks were named and their reputations known and spread abroad. This expression is equivalent to saying famous, well known.



DISTINGUISHED PERSONS

359. *Halala Moli tuku kia Loli*: Moli guilty—attribute it to Loli. 539

We have no information about Moli and Loli, but the phrase means 571  
that the blame of one man's wrong-doing is thrown onto another.

360. *Hola pe te ke hao ki he fale o Vave*: Flee that you may be 539  
safe to the house of Vave. 571

Vave was a great warrior who lived in Haavakaotua, a district near 701  
Nukualofa. So great was his might and so secure were those whom he pro-  
tected that to flee to him for safety passed into a proverb.

361. *Tekei a Lei hono fuu mei*: Pushing Lei from his bread-539  
fruit tree. 571

We have not been able to get any story relative to Lei or his bread-421  
fruit tree, but the expression means to deprive anyone of what rightfully  
belongs to him.

362. *Vikia vikia a Apolosi, Pea kuo te viku pongipongi*: Apollos 539  
is praised, praised, and I am wet in the morning. 793

This is modern, since the introduction of Christianity. Apollos was  
a Tongan native clergyman held in high repute. On one occasion he was  
sailing in a boat with a silly man named Pane whom during the course of  
the voyage he pushed into the sea. Pane sank, and as he came up vented  
his disgust at the cleric's treatment in the above rather cryptic utterance.  
The force of "in the morning" seems to be either that the outrage was  
perpetrated early in the day, or early in the voyage, or perhaps that this  
was Pane's first acquaintance with the reverend gentleman, and so "right  
away," "first go off." "Here's a nice sort of chap for you; everybody  
praises him, but all I've ever got out of him is a jolly good ducking."

LEGENDARY DEITIES

363. *Alu hifo ki takele o Maui*: Go down to Maui's foundation. 539  
that is, to the depths of the earth. 776

In the distribution to the gods of residences the Underworld was 773  
assigned to Maui.

364. *Jika a Maui*: Darting of Maui.

Used of a long throw in the game of *jika*. Baker renders the phrase, 539  
"columns of smoke," which seems to liken a column of smoke rising straight 776  
and high into the air to the great cast which Maui might be expected to 773  
make in the form of *jika* in which the object was to throw as high as 524  
possible; but since the Maui lived in the Underworld it may be that the  
column of smoke is likened to a cast of these redoubtable deities from their  
subterranean home into the upper air.

- 539 365. *Tamajii tali kelo*: Tiresome child, especially of one who  
776 talks insistently of what he can do, or is going to do, but does  
773 not do it.

The literal meaning is rather obscure, but appears as "child receiving, or stopping, catching, brown," which is not the most intelligible of phrases. Tongan tradition assigns the origin of the expression to Maui Atalanga, the father of Maui Kijikiji; during the time when the two Maui were living in Vavau. At least two accounts are extant of the circumstances in which the phrase was first used, but they vary only in details. Tradition is agreed that the Maui were living in the neighborhood of Haalaufu and Taanea. In the one account they went to slay a huge man-eating rat. They found the beast sitting in the mouth of his hole. The rat rushed at them, but they struck it and it fled for shelter to its nest. Then the question arose between the Maui of a plan of campaign. Each wished the other to dig the rat out while he himself waited to receive it as it ran out. At length the elder gave in to the importunity of his son, impatiently exclaiming as he did so "*le tamajii tali kelo*," perhaps, "A fine sort of boy to receive this brown beast." Young Kijikiji, however, was as good as his vaunt and seized and strangled the rat as he ran from his lair. The other account says that the two Maui went to catch a big brown pig and the dispute was as to who was to pelt the pig and who to catch him as he ran in his direction. As before the elder Maui exclaimed "*le tamajii tali kelo (ui)*," "A fine sort of boy to catch (or receive) this brown creature," or, "A boy to catch this brown creature." It may be noticed that in Fijian there is a word *g-gelo* meaning lame (Hazelwood, Fijian and English Dictionary, translates *gelo* as "crooked-footed, soles turned up"). If this word existed in Tongan it would [578] have the form *kelo*. For the elder Maui to exclaim angrily to his son "Boy lit to catch a lame man, or creature," seems more in line with the abusive language of the Tongans, as of other peoples, than the explanations noted above; but, however attractive this may be, it cannot be adopted in the absence of positive evidence that *kelo* in the sense of lame has been used in Tongan.

366. *Tamajii ukei kia Maui*: A boy challenging Maui, the legendary divine hero.

[183] This refers to one who has the assurance to challenge another stronger than himself. It is said to owe its origin to the impudent violence of the younger Maui, Maui Kijikiji, to his father Maui Atalanga, as a result of which the elder felled the younger with a spade. In Tongan legend the exploits of Maui Kijikiji quickly outrivalled those of his father Atalanga and to assign this phrase to the encounter between the two Maui may not seem therefore altogether appropriate. In any case the meaning is apparent.

367. *Tavatava i Manuka*: The literal meaning seems to be unknown in Tonga, but the expression indicates the betrayal of a secret.

Tongan legend ascribes the origin of this phrase to Tonga-fuji-fohua, Tonga the Land-Fisher, from whom the Maui procured the hook with

which were hauled up from the depths of the sea many of the Tongan 539  
and other islands. Tonga-fuji-fonua lived in Manuka (Manu'a) in Samoa, 776  
and when the Maui's boat touched there the youngest Maui, Kijikiji, 773  
jumped ashore and met Tonga's wife, of whose person and heart he quickly  
made himself master. Tonga himself was away fishing at the time, and  
the woman confided to Kijikiji the secret of the right hook to select when  
they should make their request to him on his return. This hook was a  
rusty, unattractive object, and Tonga exclaimed when the Maui chose it,  
"Who has *tavatava* i Manuka for you?" An informant told Mr. Gifford  
that Tavatava was the name of the woman who betrayed the secret of the  
hooks to Kijikiji, but this appears a very doubtful derivation. We do not  
know the word in Tongan, though there are words which may contain  
the same root. Krämer states (Die Samoa-Inseln, II. Band, p. 423) that  
Tavatava is the name of a fish in Samoa, and quotes a song connected  
with the Tui Manu'a, in which this fish is mentioned (op. cit., I. Band, p.  
422). Edward Tregear (Mangareva Dictionary) gives a word *tavataa* in  
Mangarevan meaning "clamorous and noisy in speaking; to speak shrilly or  
in a loud voice."

There is probably, however, some story or traditionary explanation  
connected with the phrase. In our ignorance of it mere guesses are futile.

368. Kuo hange kuo emo e Faifaimalie: It is as though Fai-  
faimalie had licked it up.

Faifaimalie (Do gently, go slowly) was a goddess famous for her  
appetite. She especially distinguished herself during a visit to Pulu-tu. Not  
stopping at the food provided by her divine entertainers, she made a clean  
sweep of the baskets and other containers in which it was brought. Fai-  
faimalie's lick, therefore, indicates a complete clearance.

369. Tala pouli a puko: The *puko* telling in the dark.

Baker renders this expression: "To backbite and be overheard by the 539  
party." Among the present-day Tongans this phrase seems to be lost, at all 773  
events with the meaning given by Baker. It has been also explained as 571  
meaning to disobey, to be told to do a thing and not to do it—an interpre- 824  
tation connected with the story of the speaking *puko* tree, which grew in  
Pulu-tu. The legendary traveller, Longopoa, who had made a journey to  
Pulu-tu, encountered this wonderful tree, which not only spoke but which  
was able to supply food, drink, shelter and other mortal wants. When  
leaving, Longopoa took a branch of this tree, which the tree itself told him  
to plant on his return to Tonga before he greeted his friends. Had Longo-  
poa done as he was told the *puko* trees in Tonga, all of which sprang  
from this branch, would have been speaking trees like their progenitor.  
But the traveller neglected the warning and went to see his friends before  
he planted the tree. The *puko* tree in Tonga, therefore, does not possess  
the power of speech. In this account of the meaning of the proverb the  
significance of the words "in the dark" is said to be that the *puko* in  
Pulu-tu was accosted by Longopoa, supplied his wants and gave him his  
instructions during the night.

- 539 This tree in Pulotu is called by the Tongans the *puko* *lea*, speaking  
773 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name  
571 (*pu'ug* and which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'uganzano*,  
824 speaking *pu'a*. (Kramer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

# RELIGION

539370. E unua e tevolo: The devil will be shifted.

776 Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would  
157 be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move.  
(Compare Nos. 338, 340 and 133.)

539371. Fahu ae tapu: The prohibition is removed.

554 The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of  
565 the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of super-  
784 ior family rank. A *tapu* can be removed by one who has this superiority to  
the one who imposed it, and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the  
removal of *tapu*. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has  
presumed to do that which he should not.

539372. Faka-momoa-tea: White fowl fashion.

825 This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the redupli-  
787 cated form of *mou*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird.  
201 There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous,  
presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539373. Hange ko Hina: Like Hina.

776 Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jinilai was one of  
773 the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should  
a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was  
likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jinilai would probably be  
hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone  
[829] is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539374. Hia i Fanakava: Criminal in Fanakava.

778 Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief  
681 district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great  
lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an in-  
violable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person  
guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539375. Ji e he tevolo: The devil pushing.

776 Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad  
183 conduct. "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent,  
is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should  
not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended him-  
self by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was  
doing and that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.

## DIVISIONS OF THE HEAVENS

821 The Tongan mariner divided the heavens into three areas or zones, called *fanakenga*, a word which apparently means risings (compare Samoan *fana'e*, rising of tide and moon; Maori, *whanake*, to move onwards or upwards). These three divisions are named respectively: Fakatonga (southward), the southern zone; Faka-loto-langi (mid-sky), the mid-sky zone; Faka-tokelau (northward), the northern zone. Guide stars were observed astern as well as ahead and the boat was kept in line with them. As the stars or constellations were probably used when at or near their meridians, different constellations were utilized at different seasons of the year. In the following list the stars seem to be arranged in the order in which they rise.

## STARS OF THE SOUTHERN ZONE

1. Houma-utu, mentioned by Tukuaho as used at a time which corresponds to about March.
2. Halla-toloa, four stars (compare Samoan, *Salintoloo*, the name of a certain star').
3. Toloa, four stars.
4. Lua-a-tangata, two stars (compare Samoan, *Luatungata*, the name of two stars, Castor and Pollux).
5. Moa-a-mahe, one star (compare Samoan, *Moa*, the name of a moon in the wet season).

821 This completes the southern zone as given by Tukuaho. Of these stars and constellations Toloa is the Southern Cross. Toloa means a wild duck, and Tongan imagination pictures the Cross as a duck whose head is gamma and tail alpha, the wings being beta and delta. The wing delta being dimmer than its fellow is said to have been injured by a stone thrown by the Two Men, Ongo Tangata, alpha and beta Centauri. The stone itself, *Maka*, is epsilon in the Cross.

Although Tongan confirmation is lacking, I think it probable that the Two Men, which are missing from Tukuaho's list, are to be identified with Lua-a-tangata, sometimes called Lua-ae-tangata. In its present form this name would mean man's vomit, but prob-

[113] <sup>1</sup> Pratt, George, Grammar and dictionary of the Samoan language, 4th ed., Samoa, 1911.

ably an older and more correct form is Lua-tangata, or Lua'i-tangata, two men. Lua, two, is not now found as a common numeral in Tongan, the ordinary form being ua, but *lua* is the numeral two in Samoan, and is found in Tongan in composition. Both Brown<sup>2</sup> and Pratt<sup>3</sup> give Lua-tangata as the Samoan name for Castor and Pollux, with Filo and Mea as the individual names of the two stars, but the presence of Lua-a-tangata in the southern zone and in close proximity to the Southern Cross in the Tongan list is against this identification for Tonga.

Other names for stars in the southern division are Tuutanga-ufi (piece of yam), and Mamangi Halahu, both of which appear to be variants for stars already mentioned, possibly for alpha Centauri, or according to other information for Moa-a-mahe. Tuutanga-ufi is the name used by the people of Ula, the chief sailor of the Tui Kanokupolu. Halahu is the name of a place in the high island of Eua near Tongatabu, where the species of yam called *mamangi* is supposed to flourish with exceptional luxuriance. This star was used in sailing from Fiji to Tonga.

Still another name for Mamangi Halahu is Mau-kuo-mau, an expression meaning got (arrived at) when clear, and used of a person who arrives at a kava party when the beverage has been strained and is clean and ready for drinking. The people of the Haapai chief Tuia are said to use this name for the star.

The dark patch of sky near the left-hand end of the Southern Cross is called Humu, and is brought into close association with the Southern Cross, as for example in the verse, which in the absence of legend is not remarkably intelligible:

[539] Humu moe Toloa  
To hono fuji pea vaova;  
Pea lele mai kuli Fiji.  
Tali fanaia, hala he vac, tau he ate.

Humu and Toloa  
Plant their plantain and overgrown  
with bush;  
And Fiji dog runs hither,  
His reception is being shot, missed in  
the leg, hit in the liver.

Humu is the name of a fish. The Samoan word *sumu* is the name of fishes of the genus *Ballistes*, and also the name of a clus-

[113] <sup>2</sup> Brown, George, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, p. 348. London, 1910.  
<sup>3</sup> Op. cit.



821 ter of stars. Samoan legend states that the *sumu* (fish) and *toloa* (duck) were taken up to heaven and became signs.<sup>4</sup> *Maafu-lele* (running fire) and *Maafu-toka* (lying, stationary fire) are the names of two bright patches in the southern sky, either of nebulae, or, according to other information, portions of the Milky Way. Baker<sup>5</sup> applies these names to the small and great Magellanic clouds respectively. The Milky Way is called *Kaniva* (compare Samoan, *Aniva*).

## STARS OF THE MID-SKY ZONE

1. *Fanlu*, a single star.
2. *Majiji*,<sup>6</sup> a single star.
3. *Moenga-manu*, or *Mohenga-manu* (sleeping place of a bird, or animal), a thick cluster of stars.
4. *Mataliki*, the Pleiades—in all probability.
5. *Matamemea*, a single star. This word appears to mean ruddy and is given by Pratt as the Samoan name of Mars.
6. *Tuinga-lama*, three stars. This word, meaning a torch of candlenuts, appears to be Samoan rather than Tongan and is given both by Brown<sup>7</sup> and Pratt<sup>8</sup> as the Samoan name for an unidentified star.
7. *Faipa*, three stars.
8. *Alotolu*, three stars. *Alotolu* means a three-oared boat, or three in a boat, and is the name of a portion of the constellation of Orion. Tongan tradition asserts that *Alotolu* is the boat in which Hina went with her father, Maungakolua, and her mother, Tamatangikai, in search of Hina's pet shark, which had escaped when the sea overflowed the pool where it was kept. Hina and her parents, as well as her two brothers, Ngatai and Fanua, were turned into various rocks and beaches in Vavau. Closely associated with *Alotolu* in Tonga is *Tuinga-ika* (string of fish), which is missing from Tukuaho's list. Both *Tuinga-ika* and *Alotolu* are parts of Orion, and it is possible that *Tuinga-lama*, which seems to be better known in Samoa than in Tonga, is identical with *Tuinga-ika*.

821 9. *Tolonga-Maul* (throwing of Maui?), one star.

10. *Takulua-Alofi* and *Takulua-Tua-fanua*, two large stars which rise one in front (alo*fi*) of Akana and the other at the back (tua) of the island.

<sup>4</sup> Pratt, op. cit. See the word *sumu*.

[13] <sup>5</sup> Baker, Rev. S. W., An English and Tongan and Tongan and English vocabulary, Auckland, 1897.

[104] <sup>6</sup> Throughout this paper I have adhered to the practice of writing *j* before *i*. In earlier Tongan the syllable *ji* had much the sound of English *tchi*, but is now indistinguishable from *si*.

<sup>7</sup> Brown, op. cit., p. 349.

<sup>8</sup> Pratt, op. cit.

821  
[23] The stars listed for the three sky zones are arranged in the order given in Tukuaho's diary. I am indebted to Mr. E. W. Gifford for the following sailing directions given by the chief Maatu of Keppel Island, which lies far north of the main part of the Tongan group:

In sailing south to Tongatabu, steer by Haliatoloa, Lua-ae-tangata, and Faipa.

In sailing north to Keppel Island, steer by Faipa. Aloua (two-oared boat), Telengehe, Fatanalua, Tupu, Tuutangaui, and Vai-utu-ki-tua (water carried outside) of which a variant is Utufi-ki-tua (carried outside).

821  
502 It will be noted that most of the stars named by Maatu are included among those mentioned on the preceding pages but that Maatu's list does not follow the same order as the list arranged by Tukuaho. No living Tongan known to me is able to point out the various stars named, but I am of the opinion that for a conjectural reconstruction of the system the order given by Tukuaho can be followed with confidence.

#### THE SUN

821 When the sun sets it is said by the Tongans to go down to Lolofunua, the Underworld, the abode of the Maui, whence it issues at its rising, but I have been able to find no explanation of the sun's daily journey nor of its path between the Tropics. If native accounts existed of these phenomena they are entirely or almost forgotten. One informant said he had heard a story of the reason of the sun's setting but had forgotten it.

It is said that someone named Loau, who lived long before the Loau of Haamea in Tongatabu so famous in Tongan tradition, traveled to Samoa and thence to Tonga in search of the sun. But beyond this bare mention I have heard nothing of this personage and his quest.

A Tongan tradition connects Jinilau with the sun—Jinilau being said to be the son of the sun and a mortal woman. Throughout Polynesia there is an association of Jinilau with Hina, and the Tongan tradition states that Hina was married to Jinilau. Clouds on the eastern horizon at sunrise are said to be placed there to ensure privacy for the sun and Jinilau as they talk together.

## THE MOON

There seems great probability that the theory which connects <sup>821</sup> Hina with the moon, *mahina*, is correct. Tongan tradition associates Hina with the shark. A myth from Eueiki in Tonga asserts that Hina was an exceedingly beautiful girl, the daughter of the chief of Eueiki, and that one day while sporting in the breakers she was swallowed by a Samoan deity, who assumed the shape of a shark for the purpose. Possibly this myth is to be referred to the monthly disappearances of the moon. <sup>973</sup>

The association of Hina with the Maui is also common throughout Polynesia. In Tongan myth a maiden Sinailele, living in Fiji, becomes pregnant by stepping over the bones of Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji, and thereby becomes the mother of Tui Motuliki.<sup>10</sup> Sinailele seems to be a Fijian modification of Hina, and the connection of Hina with the Maui may be a connection of the moon with the Underworld, parallel with the association of the sun with the Underworld.

There is a place at Matoto in Vavau which affords a fine out-<sup>821</sup> look over the ocean and is famous as a spot at which to see the moon rise. This locality is named Mata-mahina-hopoanga, or <sup>[103]</sup> Matanga-mahina-hopo, place of seeing moon rise. When parties repair thither they must make no noise and kindle no fire till the moon is fully above the horizon. As the moon appears over the ocean as though she were floating up from the depths of the sea, she is said to *kakau mai*, swim hither. When she is clear of the horizon and the onlookers are free of the tabu on noise it seems to be not unusual to raise cries of joy. The information I have been able to obtain about this custom is very scanty, but it is possible that details, if one could obtain them, would be full of interest.

There is a couplet referring to this moon-viewing site.

Fine taumelo hake ki Matoto  
Ko ene fie mamata he mahina hopo.

Harbinger woman goes up to Matoto  
Because she wants to see the moon  
rise.

[539]

The moon, also the sun, in eclipse is termed by the Tongans *mate*, dead. In ancient times this phenomenon seems to have

<sup>10</sup> Folk-Lore, vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 53 ff., 1921.

[113]

14: Thomson

OU9 Tonga OU9

● 773

[For traditional history and mythology of Tonga, see Category 173, pp.  
293-305.]

A BIT OF FOLK-LORE.

55

Three or four men rose from behind the bowl and squatted <sup>643</sup>  
within the circle, each holding a polished cocoa-nut shell. <sup>644</sup>  
The kava-maker filled each in turn, using the strainer as <sup>276</sup>  
a sponge, and, as each shell was filled, the man holding <sup>574</sup>  
the fan cried in a peculiar long-drawn wail, "*Kava kuo*  
*heka*" (The kava is lifted), and the *matabule* replied, "*Angi*  
*maa* —," naming the title of each recipient. As each  
was named he clapped his hands to show the cupbearer  
where he was sitting. Two of the king's *matabules* drank  
first, then the king, then Fatafehi, then another *mata-*  
*bule*; then there was a pause, for the presiding *matabule*  
had to ascertain my name, which, being imperfectly caught,  
was reproduced as "*Angi maa Tobisoni*." After several  
others had drunk, the *matabule* cried, "*Mai ma'aku*" (Bring  
it to me), and received his own share. The distribution  
followed certain strict laws of precedence, which it is the  
*matabule's* trade to know. The first cup is given to the  
principal *matabule*, the second to the chief next in rank  
to the presiding chief, the third to the chief himself.  
Had Fatafehi been a visitor instead of Governor of the  
island, he would have received the first cup, but being  
regarded as a chief of the place, to whom no special com-  
pliment was necessary, he received it immediately before  
the king, a sure indication that he was next in rank to  
him. In kava-parties of less ceremony, when the kava is  
brewed more than once, the order is changed. At the  
second brew the president drinks first, and the person  
next to him in rank third, the *matabule* intervening.

The Tongans give a rather crude piece of folk-lore to <sup>276</sup>  
account for this custom, the opposite of that observed in <sup>576</sup>  
Fiji, where the chief always drinks first. They say that <sup>773</sup>

276 there was a time, many years ago, when their fathers  
576 believed that the kava, growing everywhere wild in the  
● 773 forest, was a deadly poison. But one day a man going to  
his plantation saw a rat gnawing a kava-root. He waited  
expecting to see it die, but it ate on greedily, and at last  
ran off uninjured. Much excited by what he had seen,  
he hastened to tell the Tui Tonga, taking the gnawed root  
with him to bear out his statement. The chief listened to  
him and said, "If the rat gnawed the kava and lived, then  
surely is the plant not poisonous: perhaps it is even a  
useful medicine; let us try it." So they took shell-  
knives, and scraped the root, and kneaded it with water,  
and presented it to the Tui Tonga in a cup. But he, look-  
ing at it, said, "Perhaps this fellow lied, and the kava is  
poison after all: let another drink first, that we may  
know." And he gave the cup to the *matabule* on his left  
hand, bidding him drink, and the chief sat gazing at him  
to see if he would die; and after a while he called for  
another cup, and gave it to the *matabule* on his right hand,  
saying, "Drink, for perhaps your fellow has a stronger  
stomach than I, and that which harms him not may kill  
me." And when both had drunk and were unharmed the  
Tui Tonga drank the cup, and found it pleasant to the  
taste, and bade them gather the kava from the forest, and  
let him drink of it daily. Thus it became the usage of  
the chief to drink the third cup, after the fashion of that  
Tui Tonga who made a trial of it on the bodies of his  
*matabules*.

643 When the bowl was empty I whispered to Fatafeli that  
644 he should announce me as the bearer of a letter to the  
276 king from the High Commissioner. He passed the mes-  
574  
576



382 THINGS ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ZOOLOGICAL.

000 gotten, the primitive method of raising weights is likely to prevail in that district. I asked the old men what they did with heavier weights still, and they immediately answered, "We make the platform of earth, and dig it away to make the log tip up." No doubt, when the log or stone is on end, they dig away the platform, throwing the earth into its old position, so that no trace remains. Having seen the whole process, I shall continue to believe that Stonehenge was built like this, until some one offers a better explanation.

349 There is a legend that the Haamonga stones were  
[773] brought by the god Maui in a gigantic canoe from Uea  
[823] (Wallace Island), and that you may see there great holes  
in the rock whence they were quarried. A European  
even assured me that the stone is of a kind not found  
[135] in Tonga at all. This part of the story at least is not  
true, for the stone is mere coral, hardened by exposure, of  
exactly the same quality as the reef close by.

136 In discussing the peculiarities of man I have altogether  
neglected the lower animals in Tonga. The only indig-  
enous mammals were a small field-rat, a fruit-eating bat  
[226] or flying fox, and a small cave-bat. The rat, having no  
[526] enemies but man, swarmed throughout the islands: so  
numerous were they that it was a chiediike sport to shoot  
them in the paths with a bow and arrow. They have  
almost vanished now before the cats, dogs, and their  
voracious Norway cousin, and rat-shooting is now as  
extinct as bear-baiting in England.

[231] The first foreign arrival was of course the pig. It is a  
[177] popular fallacy that Captain Cook, among his other benefi-

## NOTES ON TONGAN RELIGION.

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT.

### PART I.

773 THE Tongans, in common with other Polynesian peoples, have a fairly elaborate theogony, narrating the birth of great gods of Sky, Earth, Sea, and Underworld; who are in their turn, in varying degree, responsible for Tonga and the adjacent island groups, i.e., the known world. In the beginning there seem to have existed the sea and the spirit-world, Bulotu. In this primordial ocean sea-weed and soil came together and floated away to Bulotu, but thereafter separated. Between them appeared a rock called 'Touia-a-Futuna, of which were born four pairs of twins, male and female, named respectively Biki (Sticky, Adhesive) and Kele (Soil); Atungaki (Thrown by the hand) and Maimon-a-Longona (Plaything of Longona); Fonu-uta (Land Turtle) and Fonu-vai (Sea Turtle); and Hemoana (Sea Wanderer) and Lube (Dove). Hemoana is a well-known deity found in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*) of whose origin another account is also given, [776] [825] associating him more particularly with the island of Eua. This will be referred to subsequently. Each pair of twins, with the exception of Hemoana and Lube, married within itself, and begot progeny. The first child of Biki and Kele was a son, Tanfulifonua (Oversetter of Lands, or War the Oversetter of Lands), followed later by a daughter, Havea-kolo-fonua (Havea of the Underworld). The second and third pair of twins begot each a daughter, named respectively Vele-lahi (Great Desire?) and Vele-jii (Little Desire?). At this point in the story intervenes the creation by unrecorded means of a land Tonga-mamao (Distant Tonga), by Biki and Kele as a home for their two children, Tanfulifonua and Havea-lolofonua, to whom was born the important deity Hikuleo (probably Echo). Tradition is not quite certain as to whether Hikuleo were a god or goddess, but the general suffrage seems in favour of the female sex. The two other females of this generation, Vele-lahi and Vele-jii, were also mated with Tanfulifonua, and became the mothers respectively of Tangaloa and Mani. Tongan tradition speaks of four Tangaloa, namely, Tama-bouli-alamafoa (Child of the Dark when Dawn is near), Eitumatubua, Tangaloa-tufunga (Tangaloa the Craftsman) and Tangaloa Atulongolongo.

Tangaloa the Craftsman would seem to be the especially representative type, as Tangaloa was the god of carpenters, who before eating used to throw a small piece upwards, saying, "for Tangaloa." The plover is sacred to him, that being the shape in which he visited earth, Tangaloa Atulogolongo being the member of the family spoken of as paying such visits.

The Maui, too, are regarded as a group rather than as a single god. The stories mention Maui-loa (Long Maui), Mani Buku (Short Maui), and Mani Atalanga, who is the father of Maui Kijikiji, the most famous of the Maui, noted for his mischievous disposition, for his immense strength, and for the priceless boon he bestowed on mortals in stealing fire from the Underworld and bringing it up to earth. His father Atalanga, too, performed the signal service of thrusting the sky up high above the earth. Previously men had to go on all fours like the beasts, but as the price of a drink of water which he begged from a woman in Vuvau he raised the sky to its present elevation. Atalanga is associated with Kijikiji, but always in a subordinate role, in a number of exploits which rid the world of certain dangerous animals and plants, especially notable being the great man-eating dog of Fiji. This feat is also credited to the hero Muni of the Torn-eye. Muni's mother was thrown into the sea before his birth, and the child was cast ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai, where a plover pecked at his eye as he lay on the beach. Hence the sobriquet of Torn-eye. In the case of both Maui's and Muni's adventure with the man-eating dog, the hero slays the monster and then dies himself; Maui in grief that the beast had devoured his father, and Muni because this fate had overtaken his devoted Fijian henchman. The bones of the Maui, father and son, became the father, by a Fijian woman, Simailele, of a still mightier hero, Tui-motuliki, who came to Tonga, and was the progenitor of a line of gentry in attendance on the Tui Tonga. Legend mentions also another Mani, Maui Motua (Old Maui), who appears as the father of Maui Atalanga, and the guardian of the fire stolen by Kijikiji from the Underworld.

Between Hikuleo, Tangaloa, and Maui were divided Bulotu, Sky, and Underworld. Hikuleo received as her portion Bulotu (the Polynesian Paradise), abode of the souls of chiefs and great people. To Tangaloa was assigned the Sky, and to Maui the Underworld. To the fourth pair of the original twins, Hemoana and Lube, were given the Sea and the Land and Forests. Hikulea was bound by a great cord, one end being held by the Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by the Maui in the Underworld. The earth would have been destroyed by a visit from her, hence the precautions to keep her at home.

Especially connected with the Tangaloa is the plover, and embodied in this bird one of them was wont to visit the earth. His visits commenced before the creation of the islands known to the Tongans.

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77B In the Tongan Group the islands of Ata and Eua, and probably Euaiki  
 823 (Little Eua) were first created. Eua was formed by Tangaloa, the  
 craftsman, pouring down into the sea the scraps from his work-shop.  
 At about the same time as this truly magnificent use was being made  
 of the shavings from the bench of the craftsman god, Ata slowly made  
 its appearance above the sea. On Ata were born the first men, three  
 in number, formed from a worm bred by a rotten plant, whose seed  
 was brought by Tangaloa from heaven. These three were afterwards  
 provided by the Maui with wives from the Underworld. The well-  
 known fishing expedition of the Maui hauled to the surface many of  
 the remaining islands known to the early Tongans.

77B Later Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji came up from the Under-  
 world and settled at Koloa in Vavau, where a temple of Maui stood up  
 to the time of the introduction of Christianity. Tradition is not quite  
 consistent at this point. Atalanga married a woman of Vavau, whom  
 one account represents as the mother of Kijikiji, who yet is regarded  
 in other accounts, probably the most usual and authoritative, as having  
 been a member of the expedition which fished up Vavau, and various  
 other parts of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. The whole question of  
 the position of the Vavau of myth has an interest and difficulty not  
 unlike that attaching to the Hawaiki series of place-names. Tregear,  
 in his "Maori Comparative Dictionary," says (s.v., Wawau), "There  
 is reason for thinking that Vavau in the Friendly Islands is not the  
 mythological Vavau or Wawau; the name has been localised anew  
 all over the Pacific." It is uncertain whether there will be ever  
 complete enough information to make definite statement possible.

794 In spite of the widespread recognition of these major deities the  
 practical affairs of life apparently did not so much compel resort to  
 them as to a number of gods whose cults were in some cases nation-  
 wide, and in others confined to different localities, or more strictly to  
 565 various groups of people. The greater cults are always especially  
 [794] associated with chiefs and great gentlemen attendants of chiefs, who  
 are their people's representatives before the gods as in more mundane  
 [771] affairs. In fact the deference and observances paid to the chiefs, and  
 643 particularly to the Tui Tonga, would seem to be a very practical part  
 [781] of the ordinary man's religion. The attribute of chiefiness, of which  
 776 the Tui Tonga was the human fountain-head, was essentially a thing  
 sacred and of those things which men regard with religious awe.  
 [778] Chiefiness is, in its origin, a gift of the gods, Ahoaita, the first Tui  
 Tonga, being the son of Eitumatubua, the Lord of Heaven, and a  
 human mother. Although the gods of which one hears were  
 worshipped by chiefs and larger or smaller groups, this does not mean  
 apparently that almost any object might not be adopted as sacred by  
 a man and his household. There is a gradation in the divine hierarchy

771 period of which we have information totemism has given way to a  
 784 more highly developed polytheism, but there are indications that the  
 262 development was by way of totemism. There are the usual restrictions  
 [22] on the eating of the sacred animal, though some fish which enjoyed a  
 784 certain amount of sanctity were used for food by those in whose eyes  
 262 they were sacred. The whole question of fishing was edged about  
 [15] with *tabu*, the consideration of which would lead us too far afield  
 784 from the matter in hand. But I have not yet been able to positively  
 262 ascertain whether the species of a fish in which a god was actually  
 776 embodied was ever eaten by his devotees. For instance, there is  
 more than one shark deity, but I know of only one clan who refrained  
 from eating shark from religious motives. The two most famous  
 shark gods manifest themselves in sharks which are not used as food,  
 and, are in fact altogether exceptional, and probably purely mythical  
 fish. Putting aside a few fish, which, if not actually the vehicles of  
 gods, were at all events the subject of special *tabu*, the prohibition of  
 the eating of the sacred animal is general and clear. A highly  
 [15] respected native minister of the Methodist Church informs me that to  
 this day he gets a headache if he eats the sacred animal of his clan,  
 though it is esteemed a delicacy by those who have the good fortune  
 to be exempted from the *tabu*, and probably most who are not.

773 There is an old story which is perhaps a fragment from an ancient  
 and forgotten body of lore in which the totem plays an important  
 part in the impregnation of the woman of his clan. The tale of the  
 birth of the lovely Vae, who became so beautiful that there was not  
 her equal in the whole of Tonga, relates that during her mother's  
 pregnancy the food for which she craved was the rail. The idiom  
 773 used to express such cravings of a pregnant woman might be  
 842 translated with strict accuracy, so far as the form of expression goes,  
 192 as the food by which she was pregnant, or had conceived. The  
 present day Tongan, however, uses the expression without any idea of  
 pregnancy having been caused by the object in question, but merely  
 as indicating the fastidious liking of a delicate woman for a special  
 773 food. The god of Vae's father was the dove, and before the mother  
 had given birth to her child the parents embarked on a voyage,  
 taking with them the dove god. On the way the expectant mother,  
 in her longing for her favourite dish, asked her husband for a rail.  
 He, rather exasperated at so unreasonable a request out at sea,  
 screwed the neck of his god and gave his wife a meal of dove. Being  
 compelled by stress of weather to put in at an island, the mother  
 there gave birth to her child, which to her disgust was marked on the  
 face by the dove's head. In her chargin at this disfigurement she  
 abandoned the infant, a little girl, at the foot of a tree when the  
 voyage was resumed. The remainder of the story, telling of the  
 child's adoption by a couple on the island, the disappearing of the



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mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua. 773

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his worship. Something more will be said later about the individual gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them. Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest. In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an informant able to supplement his previous information. There are also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the gaps in the tradition. 304 [178] [177] 304 771 825

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness, and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters. 776 778 825 [179] 124



This was not the only god to whom offerings were made to ensure immunity from hurricane, but he seems to have had some especially close connection with the winds, as it is said that he has on occasion brought the people to cannibalism with his destructive hurricanes. story is told of the heroic chief Takai, who was a match for his gusty majesty. Takai challenged Bulotu Katoa to a trial of strength, defying him to destroy a house which he should build. So the house was built strong and taut and the god invited to do his worst. Bulotu Katoa blew with all his might from the north. The house stood. The god veered round to the south. This was too much for Takai's workmanship, and the structure was demolished. Nothing daunted, Takai collected from all parts of the country beams of the hard wood called *ageji*, and tried again. The god was invited to try his strength on this second building, but though he employed his greatest hurricanes it was in vain, for Takai's house withstood his every attempt.

It was to Bulotu Katoa that the man strangled under the piece of native cloth mentioned above was offered. This god is also brought into interesting connection with the murder of Tubou Niua by Tubou Toa, of which an eye-witness' account is preserved by Mariner. The two sons of Tubou Niua, Lasiki and Tubou Toutai, fled to Lakepa. In course of time Taufaaahau (afterwards King George Tubou I.), the son of Tubou Toa, paid a friendly visit to the sons of the man whom his father had slain. Lasiki and Tubou Toutai besought Bulotu Katoa to slay Taufaaahau, but the god replied that he was unable to do so, as the white man's God, whom Taufaaahau then worshipped, was too mighty for him. On this confession of impotence Lasiki and Tubou Toutai slew the priest of Bulotu Katoa, and became Christians.

(To be continued.)

[pp. 164-226 not processed]

complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell (*bule*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in Utulau, in the central part of Tongatapu. The "*fono*" is the food served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice accompanied it.

Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haavakatolo, whose chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western part of Tongatapu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree called *fehi* (*essi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga, but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or *essi*, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a signal victory.

Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the Falefa, a clan of great *matibules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured, are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

Finan-tan-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of Tongatapu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

825 The *lanake* (mullet), the sacred creature of the clan called Fuinga's,  
 613 *matabules* of the Tui Tonga. These *matabules* are descended from the  
 644 hero Tui Motuliki, who was the son of the Fijian woman Sinailele  
 779 (this name is perhaps connected with Hina, the widely recognised  
 Polynesian goddess), and the bones of the dead Maui Atalanga and  
 Maui Kijikiji. Tui Motuliki was even mightier than the great Maui,  
 and whilst yet a child performed the most amazing prodigies of  
 773 strength and valour. The mullet was from infancy sacred (*tabu*) to  
 825 him, and an old tale relates that he prohibited its use as food by any  
 784 man. When he came from Fiji to Tonga he brought his *tabu* with  
 262 him, and the Tui Tonga is said to have extended the prohibition on  
 eating it to all the men of Tonga. There seems to be no remembered  
 custom to support this tradition so far as full-grown mullet is con-  
 cerned, though there is corroboration of the statement that the young  
 mullet (called *te'efo*) was *tabu* to the men.

825 The *oka* (rail) was the god of Maumunu, a chief on the island of  
 776 Eua. It was also the god of Motuku-ree-valu (Eight-legged-heron),  
 a chief in the west of Tongatabu, and the father of Muni, of whom  
 773 exploits are related very similar to those of Maui. It is said that  
 Motuku-ree-valu and his descendants were chiefs in the west of  
 Tongatabu before the present Haa-Nguta lords. This, if true, is a  
 825 very interesting statement. The rail figures prominently in the story  
 [779] of Muni, guiding the hero, who had been cast into the sea at birth  
 and was completely unknown to his father, to the old gentleman as he  
 was hiding from his foe Bunga (coral), the chief of Eastern Tonga-  
 [774] tabu. Those who belonged to the rail cult used to take the bird about  
 [779] with them. This practice is indicated in the story of the birth of the  
 beautiful Vae.

The *lulu* (owl) is mentioned as sacred to a family group in  
 [644] Haapai who belonged to the Falefa, already noticed as *matabules* of the  
 Tui Tonga. Possibly it was sacred to all the Falefa. In passing it  
 [551] may be remarked that Falefa seems to mean "wide-spread," "widely  
 ramified," like the water flowing on all sides from the pandanus (*fu*) in  
 a heavy rain.

825 The best remembered feature of the owl's supernatural functions is  
 843 its habit of revealing the pregnancy of women. If the owl hooted near  
 a house in the afternoon it was known that there was a pregnant  
 woman in that household. The meddlesome bird never blurted out its  
 news unless for some reason the lady were keeping her interesting  
 condition a secret, or were as yet unaware of it herself.

825 The hooting of an owl near a house late at night was a sign that  
 [787] some disaster would befall the unlucky home.

[643] Toke-i-Moana, that Eel-in-the-Open-Sea, was the god of Uila in  
 Haapai, whose chief is Maluba. On his mother's side King George  
 Tabou I was connected with this family. Two of the king's sons are

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buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uihā. There was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uihā. The sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilan is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage being Jinilan, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally handsome persons were called Jinilan, their attractive appearance being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilan married Hina, but before the marriage took place the poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilan to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilan slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilan. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilan figures as lord of Akana in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaiian and Maori Tinirau is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilan has also special connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime. In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tununga, relatives of Jinilan, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in 'Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tununga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilan, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilan thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tununga had

779 been eaten, but all the scraps obtainable were put into a bowl, and the defunct whale thus restored to life. One tusk, which had been presented to the Tui Tonga, was not recovered, but Jinilan comforted him with the observation that nobody would notice its absence unless he opened his mouth very wide.

776 Toki-langa-fonua, a great god of Eua, wont to appear in a shark,  
825 called the Tui-Fai-Ana, i.e., King of the Fai Cave. Myth relates  
779 that Toki-langa-fonua swam to Samoa, and that Tui-fai-ana guarded  
823 him throughout the journey. This shark was not an ordinary fish,  
825 but quite a species to himself. His stump tail was a distinguishing  
784 feature, as was the variability of his colour. His home was the cave  
782 called Fai-ana on the coast of Eua. He was reputed to be girded  
571 about with a shoal of the fish called in Tongan *hofoli*. Approach to  
226 the god's cavern was impossible to anyone wearing a sweet-smelling  
leaf girdle, or having the head whitened with lime, and the prohibition  
823 seems to have extended to persons in whom were physical or moral  
784 defects. (A boat can never be successful in shark-fishing unless  
sincere harmony exists between the members of the crew). No noise  
must be made near his home. Anyone at all unfitted for proximity to  
825 the god who attempted to approach the cave fell from the narrow rock  
784 path along which he must go, but apparently escaped any penalty  
more serious than a wetting, for falling into the sea he had no  
difficulty in swimming back a little way, and there scrambling ashore.  
It is said too that a great wave used to arise at the mouth of the cave  
and prevent the approach of the wrongly-disposed person. I have not  
yet met anyone who claims to have seen this remarkable shark,  
though I have talked with a young man who says that he has seen in  
the cave the shoal of *hofoli* said to be the leaf-girdle of 'Tui-fai-ana.

776 Toki-langa-fonua (Land-building Axe) is said to have come down  
from heaven as king of Eua. He begot by his sister Hina twin  
daughters, Tobukulu and Nafanua, who in their turn bore to their  
father Hemoana and Tafakula. These incests were unwittingly  
committed, the parties to them being ignorant of each other's  
identity.

825 The people of Eua are said to be immune from attack by the  
species of shark called *anga*. As a matter of fact the *anga* has more  
[262] reason to fear Tongans than they to fear him. It is rarely that one  
226 hears of a Tongan being injured by a shark, but the shark furnishes  
many a meal for the Tongan. The native of these islands displays  
remarkable intrepidity and skill in the water. In the shark-fishing,  
the shark is enticed alongside the boat by singing and calling out and  
rattling with coconut shells strung on a stick, and a running noose is  
then slipped over his head. If matters are not going smoothly a  
member of the crew does not hesitate to jump overboard and attend to  
the noose at close quarters.



Sharks' teeth were a regular part of the furnishing of temples dedicated to shark deities. 237  
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Tobukulu and Nafanua, the twin sisters mentioned above, daughters of Toki-langa-fonua and Hina, and the mothers of Hemoana and Tafakula. They were turned into two rocks to which prayers were made for good seasons and big hauls of fish. 776  
[823]  
[82]

Hemoana, literally Sea-Wanderer, has already been noticed in the brief notes of the creation myth as one of the original gods. Another account regards him as the son of Tobukulu, born whilst his mother, with her twin sister, was swimming home to Eua after the incest with their father. Toki-langa-fonua had abandoned Eua in horror at the discovery of the close relationship that subsisted between himself and Hina, but the desire of the twins to see their father had added fresh blots to the family history. 779

Hemoana was abandoned in the sea by his mother as soon as he was born. He was wont to appear in the sea-snake (*tuku-hali*). [825]

Tafakula, literally Red-Edge, a female divinity, born soon after Hemoana as their mothers were swimming from Samoa to Eua. Tafakula's mother, Nafanua, refused to abandon her in the sea, although strongly urged by Tobukulu to do so, and took the child home with her to Eua. In process of time Hemoana came to Eua to visit his relatives there, and he and Tafakula added another to the family's record of unwitting incest, but the unholy succession was stopped by Tafakula's battering the fruit of this union to death with a stone. Offerings were brought to Tafakula, and intercession made to ensure fruitful seasons, and protection against hurricane and drought. [776]  
[821]  
[82]

The suggestion is made by an intelligent Tongan that the name may refer to the red horizon at dawn and sunset. She is the goddess of the light. The island of Eua is high and stands towards the sun-rising from Tongatabu. It would be the first to catch the ruddy glow of the sun as he rose, and would also reflect his last beams as he disappeared below the horizon. Red things are particularly associated with Tafakula, the red varieties of several objects being spoken of as hers. In Eua there is a mound about which are growing two sorts of coconuts, whose Tongan names mean the red nut and the white nut, which is still called the *demesne* of Tafakula. This mound is probably the site of a house sacred to her. 776  
[821]  
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[824]  
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Hina, a goddess widely known throughout Polynesia. Although the body of lore concerning her is not uniform there are numerous and close parallels between the accounts of the various Polynesian peoples. She occurs in several distinct connections in Tongan tradition, each of them presenting points of similarity with accounts from other parts of Polynesia. It will be well to summarise these. 776  
771



776 She is generally regarded as the Moon-goddess, and this view was  
[821] spontaneously put forward by a Tongan in conversation with me.

[171] Tregear, in his Maori Comparative Dictionary, speaks of her as  
being connected in the Maori accounts with the Ocean-lord, Tinirau, in  
a very mythical manner. The Tongan myth of her marriage with  
Jinilau has been mentioned above.

776 The tradition of Hina as the sister-wife of the Shark god,  
825 Toki-langa-fonua, has already been noticed. This is not her only  
773 association with the shark. A Tongan native has told me that in  
shark-fishing the sharks are often addressed as Hina. In Eueika  
(Little Eua), an island not far from Eua, Hina is said to be the  
daughter of the first Tui Tufu, the chief of Eueika. She was very  
lovely, but one day, whilst sporting in the surf she disappeared, and  
nothing could be discovered of her fate, till at length she inspired in  
her father a dream, telling him that through the ill-will of a Samoan  
god she had been swallowed by a shark, into which the malevolent  
deity had entered to compass her destruction. Her father thereupon  
told his people that they need never more fear the shark, as nobody of  
[481] Eueika would ever more be endangered by one. It is said that as a  
matter of fact there is no known instance of an Eueika man or woman  
having been injured by a shark, although both sexes freely and  
fearlessly swim long distances in the open sea.

In Vavau Hina is the daughter of Maunga-kolua and Tama-tang-  
kia, and sister of Ngatai (Sea, or Seawards) and Fanna (Land). She  
had a pet shark, which she kept in a pool ashore, till one day, during  
an exceptionally high tide, which overflowed the pool, it made good its  
escape to the open ocean. Hina was inconsolable at the loss of her  
favourite, and started off to seek it, with her parent, rowing three in  
the canoe. When the shark was at length discovered out at sea Hina,  
776 in order to remain near her pet, jumped into the water and became a  
773 reef. Her parents commenced to return to shore, but, unwilling to  
823 leave their daughter, they too leapt into the sea, and became two  
[821] rocks. The three-oared canoe flew up into the sky, and became part  
of the constellation of Orion. Hina's two brothers, Ngatai and Fanna,  
later set off to seek their father and mother and sister, and became two  
other rocks or reefs.

776 Sinailele, the Fijian mother of Tui Motuliki, is probably another  
appearance of Hina.

[825] The Shark is also the god of the clan of the Tui Tofua, i.e., King,  
[175] or Chief, of Tofua, a high volcanic island in Haapai, historically  
interesting as being the island on which Blight landed after the  
[361] mutiny of the "Bounty," and from which commenced his wonderful  
open-boat voyage. Tofua is not now inhabited, but people lived there  
within the memory of living men.

There is a tradition that an early Tui 'Tofua was about to kill his son in a fit of jealous anger, but the youth obtained his father's permission to sail away with some of his people. When they got well out to sea he told the crew to jump one by one into the water. As each man leapt into the sea he became a shark, of the more harmless variety called *anga*. The young chief himself was last, and he was turned into one of the great man-eating sharks called *lenifa*. A Samoan on board, not relishing the metamorphosis, refused to participate, and returned and told the tale on shore. Since then the shark has been sacred (*tabu*) to the 'Tofua people, and must not be eaten by them, on account of the relationship subsisting between them. There is still extant a song referring to this exploit.

I have received a brief note regarding the gods of Nina Fo'ou, one of the most distant islands of the Tongan Group, lying midway between Vavau and Samoa. This is a hilly, volcanic island, with a lake in an old crater in the middle. It has been the scene of volcanic outbreak within very recent years.

The note states that the gods of Nina Fo'ou were three in number, namely Pig's Liver, the Octopus, and a large lump of Coral (*Bunga*). Neither the pig's liver nor the octopus could be eaten by their worshippers. Throughout Tonga the liver is a very special portion of the pig, and when on important occasions cooked food is presented to a chief the liver of a pig is taken and ceremoniously placed before him. *Bunga* (Coral) is the name of the chief of eastern Tongatabu from whom Motuku-vae-valu, the father of Muni, was hiding when his son discovered him. *Bunga* was overcome by that hero in a wrestling match. This *Bunga* was the possessor of two enormous *kava* plants, and of a white flying-fox from whose movements he read auguries.

When Nina Fo'ou became Christian the people threw their coral god into the lake.

There are several gods mentioned by Mariner of which I have not been able to get any independent account. Mariner was best acquainted with Vavau, whereas the foregoing notes deal mainly with Tongatabu. As a whole, however, the Tongan people fit into a framework which may be constructed in Tongatabu. The chieftainships of the two northern groups have well understood relations with 'Tonga-tabu, all deriving ultimately from the Tui Tonga. It is not clear what was the first home of the Polynesians in the group, or what they found on arrival. Tradition points to their having come from Samoa, a conclusion which is supported by the general evidence of geographical distribution, and to their first settlements having been in the southern part, though the farthest from Samoa, in Eua and Ata. It is not impossible, that these southern settlers may have been pre-Polynesian, and that the acclimatisation of Polynesian myths amongst them was

*Marriage in Tonga.*

227

called *fokonoso*. The Tongan creation myth relates that when the gods were first a-courting, and the world was in course of coming into being, one of the goddesses secured as *fokonoso* for her husband two of her sister divinities, and tradition ascribes to the ancient king Tui-ta-tui, wives so successfully zealous in adding to his harem, that even Solomon's household does not appear by comparison the outstanding achievement that the unenterprising European might regard it. 622  
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[773]

The chiefs were said to have a pre-emptive right to all the women in their tribes. In theory the chiefs had the absolute disposal of the persons and property of their people. Stories are related of the king Tukuaho—not the diarist—which show the harsh caprice with which a great lord might treat his people, as, for example, when he ordered the hands of his cooks to be cut off because they had prepared his food badly; but the murder of this tyrant after less than three years of his sullen rule shows that, in Tonga as elsewhere, natural human reactions impose practical checks on theoretical absolutism. Evidently the chiefs freely used their privileges in love, but there is no reason to suppose that the lower orders of society were thereby deprived of mates. Intrigue with the wife of a superior, however, was a very grave breach, and might even lead to the man being killed by his own people, without waiting for the vengeance of the chief. On the other hand there is a story of a king who left his wife and babe in charge of another man whilst he went on a voyage, but found on his return that the pair had abused his trust. He forgave them both, and gave the lady as wife to his unfaithful friend. 622  
[837]  
[421]  
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Cousin marriages are rare. Brothers and sisters are called by the same term as first cousins, and more distant collateral relatives. All these "brothers" and "sisters," near and remote, are alike *tabu* to each other. There are restrictions, on the whole well observed, but weakening in these latter days, on the most ordinary intercourse between youths and girls so related. More liberty in the matter of cousin marriages is accorded the great chiefly families than to commoners, and a cousin marriage (probably when it does happen a mating of rather distant cousins) amongst the lower orders of society is spoken of as an imitation of the chiefs. In the days when the Tui Tonga chieftainship flourished there was a well established custom for him to take as his principal wife, and the mother of his successor, the daughter of the Tui Haatakalaui, the chief next in rank to the Tui Tonga. At a later period, when the Tui Haatakalaui chieftainship had declined before the growing importance of the Tui Kanokupolu, the daughter of the latter lord used regularly to become the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. This resulted in the cross-cousin marriage of the Tui Tonga to his mother's brother's daughter. 837  
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Fatafehi, the thirtieth king, an old man in 1643, is the fifteenth after Talakaifaiki, who flourished about 1250. Between the two dates is a period of 393 years, and thus an average reign of about 25 years is indicated. 175  
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Taking the three intervals thus dated by external evidence we seem to be justified in allowing 25 years for each Tui Tonga. This average is very high, and there is tradition, moreover, to the effect that the kings were frequently assassinated in the earlier period by aspirants to the throne, and there are exceptions to the general rule that the succession was from father to son. The dated periods, however, are sufficiently long to include, and allow for, some departures from the normal, and in the absence of definite evidence sufficient to warrant a shorter period being assumed, I accept provisionally 25 years as representing the average length of the reign of a Tui Tonga.

The beginning of the line, then, would be in the tenth century, say about 950. Bishop Blanc (P. Soane Malia), in his *Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique*, assumes the tenth century as a starting point for the Tui Tonga line, though he does not state his grounds.<sup>6</sup>

#### EARLY KINGS.

The first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, was the son of Eitumatupua, the Lord of Heaven, and a mortal woman. Heaven was not very distant, and the divine lover could visit his earthly bride by descending a great tree, standing on the island of Ata, whose head pierced the sky. 713  
643

The names Ahoeitu, and Eitumatupua, both contain the word *aitu* god, spirit; and Eitumatupua contains also the word *tupua*, which is of kindred meaning,<sup>7</sup> but in spite of mythological elements in the tradition of the beginning of the kingship, the broad fact of a new dynasty having established itself during the tenth century is probably historical. Tradition speaks of a period before Ahoeitu, when Tonga was peopled from a worm bred in the decayed root of a creeper, planted by one of the Tangaloa, Lords of Heaven. Then follows the visit of the Maui, who brought [551]  
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6. P. Soane Malia, *Chez les Meridionaux du Pacifique*, p. 87 (Emmanuel Vitte, Lyon, Paris, 1910). [113]

7. A. M. Hocart, *Chieftainship and the Slater's Son in the Pacific*, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1915, p. 638. [113]

779 wives from the Underworld for the men created by Tangaloa, and who also fished up certain islands. The Tangaloa and Maui myths are of course older than the settlement of any of the Polynesian peoples in their present habitats, but each of the peoples has doubtless woven some of its more recent history into its memory of the ancient common myths. It is interesting to note that in Tongan tradition the Maui get the hook from a chief of Manu'a, in Samoa, named Tonga, and that they come from thence to Tonga.

171 Dr. Kramer<sup>8</sup> says that the earliest kings of Manu'a bore the title of *Tuimanu'a ma Samoa'atoa*, king of Manu'a and All Samoa, and that "all" indicated, not only Samoa, 643 but surrounding islands as well, such as Tonga, Fiji, Rarotonga, Tahiti, who all brought tribute to the Tui Manu'a. 773 Especially prominent in the Samoan sagas is Fitiaumua, a great conqueror, who "was said to come from the east, was a great warrior, conquered at Fiji, and in his lust for conquest came to Samoa. He subdued all the leeward islands of the group, reached Manu'a and there he dwelt."<sup>9</sup>

An old saga mentions Tonga-mamao (Distant Tonga), and Safulusao (Haafuluhao or Vavau in the Tongan Group) as scenes of his warlike exploits.<sup>10</sup> Tongan-mamao is quite probably not the present Tonga, but Niua Fo'ou.

175 Dr. Kramer's conclusion from the Samoan evidence is that by about the year 1100 the pre-eminence of Manu'a in Samoa had come to an end, and that, moreover, the active traffic that had subsisted between Samoa and the neighbouring groups was diminishing.<sup>11</sup>

A not improbable picture of this part of the Pacific about a thousand years ago seems to be a Polynesian people inhabiting Samoa, Tonga, part of Fiji, and scattered islands, such as Uvea, Niua Fo'ou, and Niua Toputapu. The whole of Fiji may have been occupied by the Polynesians. These people were perhaps more nearly homogeneous than the corresponding populations of to-day.

It is hardy credible that any chief could have acquired the real control of so wide an area, but a general recognition of overlordship by the payment of tribute, especially perhaps by the semi-religious presentation of first-fruits, is

8. A. Kramer, op. cit. Vol. I., p. 8.

9. Turner, Samoa, p. 224 (Macmillan and Company, 1884).

10. A. Kramer, op. cit. Vol. I., p. 436.

11. A. Kramer op. cit. Vol. I., pp. 9-10.



quite possible. The predominating influence was, for a time, 175  
 Manu'a, itself, perhaps, the seat of recently arrived, power- 643  
 ful invaders, but Polynesians like the people they found.  
 After a period of movement and readjustment more compact  
 political groups emerge, and to the south-west power passes  
 chiefly into the hands of the kings of the Tonga tribe, the  
 Tui Tonga, who possibly had not long arrived from Samoa.  
 The authority of the Tui Tonga was perhaps confined at first  
 to the whole, or part, of the present Tongatabu, but was  
 rapidly extended over kindred tribes in the adjoining islands.  
 Although it seems fair to assume that the Tui Tonga was  
 firmly established on his throne by the tenth century, the  
 extent of his domains fluctuated, and his active interference  
 in the affairs of his more distant possessions was probably  
 not great, overlordship being sufficiently recognised by tri-  
 bute, and especially by the *Inaji* or *Polopolo*, the first-fruits,  
 whose presentation was of religious import, and by the per-  
 formance of tasks at the behest of the king. Obviously the  
 character of the king, and the circumstance of peace or  
 war, would have a vital influence on the amount of local  
 independence enjoyed by the various units of the island  
 kingdom.

#### MONUMENTS AT HEKETA.

The seat of these ancient kings was at Heketa,<sup>12</sup> in the  
 extreme eastern end of Tongatabu. Their lot was not al-  
 ways an enviable one. The throne was sometimes snatched  
 by the hand of the assassin.<sup>13</sup>

#### TUI-TA-TUI.

Little is preserved about the Tui Tonga until we come to 173  
 Tui-ta-tui, in the thirteenth century; round whom cluster a 643  
 number of traditions. A trait of his personal appearance is 713  
 related. So massive was his head that by this feature the  
 stranger might recognise him. Floating stories tend to  
 become attached to well-known names, and scanty as are the  
 legends associated with Tui-ta-tui, some, perhaps, do not

12. Near by is a place named Haa-Mene-uli, a name which attracted  
 the attention of the late President of the Polynesian Society, but about  
 which, unfortunately, very little information was obtainable.

13. Although little is known with certainty about the early kings,  
 and the manner of their death, yet the tradition that they were fre-  
 quently assassinated recalls the slaying of Sacred Kings treated by Sir  
 James Frazer in the "Golden Bough."



173 rightly belong to him. There can be little doubt, however,  
 643 that he was an exceptionally strong and able king. His  
 773 name may be translated King-strike-knee, and so in fact it  
 is commonly explained. Tradition asserts that, sitting with  
 his back to a rock, he struck out right and left with a long  
 staff, and so cleared a space about himself within which he  
 allowed none to enter. Thus he safeguarded himself against  
 the blow of the murderer. Even if the explanation of the  
 name be entirely fictitious, it seems fair to infer that what-  
 ever dangers threatened from internal disorder were over-  
 come, and that his prowess and sagacity secured both his  
 own personal safety, and the peace of his kingdom.

#### THE HAAMONGA.

173 If tradition is to be trusted the period must have been  
 643 one of real power and prosperity, for towards the close of  
 344 Tui-ta-tui's reign the determination was taken to build an  
 imperishable monument. The famous trilithon in eastern  
 Tongatabu was the fruit of this ambitious decision. The  
 completion of this structure is by some accounts assigned to  
 Tui-ta-tui's sons. The trilithon is even more imposing on  
 close inspection than to the casual view, for all about the  
 base it is strengthened by a bed of stones, probably pieces  
 chipped off in working the great uprights and cross-piece.  
 It is probable that the cross-piece was lifted into position by  
 being dragged up an inclined plane of soil heaped between  
 the uprights. If our assumptions as to chronology, and the  
 general reliability of tradition be correct, this monument,  
 commonly known as the Haamonga or, more fully, Haamo-  
 nga-a-Maui (Burden carried on the shoulder of Maui), dates  
 from the thirteenth century. The only purpose assigned to  
 it by legend is to be an undying monument, something to see.  
 If that be really its object the question of what inspired its  
 form is still unsolved. Two uprights with a festoon of leaf  
 girdles suspended between them are not uncommon on  
 newly-made graves. All that tradition has to say upon the  
 subject seems to be summed up in this passage from a Ton-  
 gan manuscript, written in 1870: "And (Tui-ta-tui) said,  
 'Men do your work, whilst I am still alive,' " meaning to  
 build his burial vault, for he was old. But the men did not  
 consent to this, and so Tui-ta-tui was buried in the earth,  
 thrown out in digging the Haamonga. Tui-ta-tui, however,  
 did not give up his project of building something, and they

349 the very large stones used in the old structures have been  
172 quarried; but, on the other hand, no systematic search may  
316 have been made. Traditionary evidence, however, is suffi-  
ciently strong to warrant the belief that some at least of the  
stones were brought from distant islands, notably Uvea.

349 All these imposing structures are incontrovertible evi-  
643 dence of power. They were possible only to kings at whose  
461 command was a practically unlimited supply of labour. The  
population of the islands may have been little, if any,  
greater, than at present, but the king must have had the un-  
questioned right to the labour of every man. The fragment  
quoted above indicates such a right extending over a very  
much larger area than the present Tongan group. Despotic  
773 power can accomplish much. A tradition relates that two  
461 chiefs, brothers, were engaged in hauling a huge stone,  
which the labourers found quite beyond their strength.  
Night fell, but the stone had not been moved. In the dark-  
ness the brothers took counsel together, and, when the work  
was resumed on the morrow, threatened with death any  
man who did not pull satisfactorily. The threat was efficaci-  
ous, and "the stone ran" into its place, as the Tongan  
idiom has it.

#### REMOVAL OF KINGS TO MUA.

173 The two sons of Tui-ta-tui initiated an important change.  
643 They were interested in boats, and each possessed a large  
canoe. Heketa was ill-provided with anchorages, and they  
shifted their abode nearer to the centre of the north coast of  
Tongatabu, to the present Mua, or Lapaha (equivalent to  
Lambasa in Fiji), where they found safe shelter for their  
boats. Henceforth this site was the abode of the Tui Tonga  
349 and his court. Here are the *langi*, burial vaults, so well  
764 known to the modern sight-seer. These vaults stand in a  
766 long row, with isolated ones scattered about. The earliest  
probably dates from about the thirteenth century. The  
finest of these, with corners of immense single blocks hewn  
into right angles, stands nearer the sea than the main  
row of *langi*. It is associated with the name of Telea, who  
belongs to about the beginning of the seventeenth century;  
but its position suggests the probability that its erection be-  
longs to the reign of an earlier king. There have been very  
recent interments in this *langi*. It should be remarked that  
highly competent Tongan authority asserts that the kings

## SKETCH OF TONGUESE RELIGION.

255

and it was also his duty to maintain the god-house, or temple, in due repair and order.

The religion of the Tonguese, as it existed when they became known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstitions, into which the population plunged headlong, through slavish fear and ignorance. The mysteries and enactments of heathen worship, although submitted to by the chiefs themselves, unquestionably were intended more for the perpetuation of their power and influence, than to direct the ideas of the people to matters of spiritual and eternal interest, or even to those involving temporal improvement. No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments for the present life, and in dark threatenings for the future. *Bulotu*, the Tonguese paradise, was reserved only for the spirits of departed chiefs and persons of rank; who, in their turn, became the servants of the presiding genius of *Bulotu*, and as such were often worshipped and sacrificed to by the people, for the purpose of securing their interposition with the gods. Of the fate of the *tuas*, or common people, there was no certainty whatever; and it was doubtful whether they had any souls at all. A general opinion, however, did prevail, that there was a future state, and with it vague and conflicting notions of rewards and punishments. Their traditions referred to the creation of the world, and probably also to the deluge; but, even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity of gods existed. Savage rites, and deities who

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39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)  
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

coral limestone atolls on volcanic mounds which 133  
slowly became submerged, created Tongatapu, the  
islands of Vava'u, nearly all of the Ha'apai group,  
and Nomuka island. More recent milleniums have  
witnessed volcanic peaks, in most forceful agitation,  
rising above the surface to form the islands of 'Ata,  
Kao, Tofua, Fonuafo'ou (Falcon Island), Late,  
Fonualei, Niuafu'ou, Niuatoputapu, and others.

Centuries upon centuries later, and yet long 773 ●  
before science had uncovered the mysteries of island

[p. 1-C]

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3)

- 173 origins, Polynesians came to populate the islands, and they created their own explanation of how their islands had come to be. According to Tongan legend, the great god Maui went fishing one day and pulled up the various Tonga Islands with a fishhook which he had obtained from a Samoan named Tonga Fusifonua.

173 No matter to which theory one gives credence, for each has its beauty, the 150 Tonga Islands today adorn the surface of the vast Pacific as sparkling specks of greenness scattered among shades of magnificent blue ocean.

174 But where did the Tongans come from? There has been much speculation about Polynesian migrations. Some historians and anthropologists say that the Polynesians migrated from New Zealand or America, others say that they came directly from Melanesia, and still others contend that they are from a "fatherland" in the Pacific which no longer exists. The most popular theory, however, is that the first Polynesians migrated from southeastern Asia or the area of Indonesia around the 4th or 5th century B.C., landed at certain centers of settlement (such as Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga), and dispersed periodically from there.

Imagine what courageous people the early Polynesians must have been to have embarked upon the seas in their long colonizing journeys and traveled without navigating instruments to distant islands thousands of miles away. With tremendous faith in the gods, they essentially pitted their vessels against the unpredictable elements of nature. By means of a highly sophisticated knowledge of astronomy, they navigated during the day by the sun, wind and swell of the ocean, and at night by the stars—many of which they named and could locate in the sky at any different time of the year; otherwise, when the heavenly bodies were obscured, the mariners directed their courses according to the wind and ocean currents. Indeed, they rightly merit the reputation which they have gained as being outstanding, intrepid voyagers and navigators.

174  
501 Their main sea-going vessels for the lengthy ocean voyages were double canoes of considerable size and

# 4

776 Early Tongans lived in a polytheistic world that  
● 779 was created and maintained by gods (*'otua*), and in  
fact, many of the ancient songs and legends tell of  
the gods, as well as of heroes who became deified  
771 after death.<sup>12</sup> Tongan religious organization in  
pre-contact times and before the introduction of  
western morality was highly complex and very  
intricate in terms of internal structure.

775 Pulotu, the abode of the gods and Tonga's site of  
the hereafter, was a mythical island which some  
believed lay at an unknown distance to the  
northwest of Tonga, while others believed it lay  
beneath Tonga and had an entrance under a large  
stone or cluster of reeds. There dwelt the principal

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[774]

[p. 39-B]



776 whose shrine was a shark (Mariner renders *Taliai*  
778 *Tubou* by 'Wait there, Tubou,' which is certainly  
779 incorrect: *Taliai* *Tubou* was probably the name of  
a king); *Bulotu* *Katoo* (the *Pleroma* of the Spirit  
World, who presided over hurricanes, and agri-  
culture), whose shrine, we think, was a tree at  
*Kolonga* (Mariner mentions several the present  
writer has never heard of: *Tubou* *Toutai* ('*Tubou*  
the Mariner'; *Tubou* is the familiar designation  
of the king, and one of his family is usually called  
*Tubou* *Toutai*); *Hala'evalu* ('*Eight Ways*'; also  
the name of a chief); '*Alo'alo* ('the Fanner'), the  
god of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and  
vegetation; *Tu'i* *Bulotu* ('King of the Spirit  
World'). Other gods resided in the turtle, the  
cuttle-fish, the kingfisher, etc. *Fonokitangata's*  
shrine was a war-club. These were, so to speak,  
the private gods of the people, and the shrine of  
each was tabu to its worshippers. Thus the people  
of *Te'ekiu* were forbidden to eat the octopus, that  
being the shrine of their god. In the neighbouring  
villages, however, it would be freely eaten. In  
*Nomuka* one particular family were thus debarred  
from eating turtle, while the rest of the town were  
free to partake of that delicacy.

784 (3) In addition to these there were a number of  
779 supernatural beings whose position in the Tongan  
778 pantheon is not clear. They were looked upon as  
gods, and the term expressive of highest deity was  
applied to them; but they were never worshipped,  
nor were temples built to them. On the contrary,  
they were looked upon with contempt, and their  
follies freely portrayed and laughed at. It is  
curious to see these ascriptions of high divinity  
and expressions of contempt standing side by side.  
Is it that these were the gods of the inferior race  
which the Tongans found in the group when they  
landed?

776 Take an instance or two. *Jiji* and *Falga'a* were two goddesses  
773 in this class, who had set their affections on a Tongan of great  
779 masculine beauty called *Bajikola*. He, tired of their attentions,  
plaited two large baskets of coconut leaves, put one goddess in  
each, and, shouldering them like a Chinaman, conveyed them  
into the bush, and hung them on the branch of a tree, and left  
them there for two years, until the baskets rotted, and they  
fell to the ground. They made another attempt on his affec-  
tions, and he finally got rid of them by luring them into his  
fish traps, and leaving them at the bottom of the sea, where  
they lay until *Tangaloa* took pity on them, and sent a god to  
release them. Take another instance. In this case also it was  
two goddesses, who set out to meet a mortal lover. While  
waiting for him, they took off their heads to dress their  
hair. Suddenly his footsteps were heard, and they put their  
heads on again; but in the hurry, one of them put hers on hind  
before; and when she attempted to move, her face went one  
way and her legs another. It is extremely puzzling to meet  
with tales like these, referring to those to whom the titles of  
highest deity are given: and yet, after all, they do but recall  
the vagaries of the Olympian deities as described by Homer,  
when

'Unextinguished laughter shook the skies.'

769 On the subject of ancestor-worship, Mariner  
779 speaks positively (vol. ii. p. 97): 'That there  
are other *Hotoos* or gods, viz. the souls of all  
deceased nobles and *matabooles*.' The present  
writer was disposed to agree with him at first,  
especially as it was a custom of the people to go  
to the cemeteries to pray, even after a sacrifice  
had been presented at the temple. But further  
inquiry has convinced him that they did so because  
they fancied themselves nearer the spirit-world in  
such places. Intelligent chiefs like *Valu*, who  
were acquainted with heathenism, are equally  
positive in the other direction, and deny that they  
looked upon the spirits of deceased chiefs as gods.  
We think the truth lies between the two state-  
ments, and that Mariner himself gives us a key to  
the solution of the question. In vol. i. p. 376, he  
speaks of *Feenow* as being frequently inspired by  
the spirit of *Mumui* (a late king of Tonga). Now  
we can readily understand that in such circum-  
stances *Feenow* would pray to *Mumui*, and others  
would join him; so that in time *Mumui* would be

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## TONGAN RELIGION

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and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh, Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June. They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they were not mistaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has been occasionally mentioned. Their principles and notions, nearly agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowledge the influence of superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King called him Fattasee, and said that when he was angry he destroyed the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all they either feared or expected.<sup>1</sup> I think I may venture to assert that

*fahu* to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough had been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latunipulu his nephew, were *fahu*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *fahu* than the nephew: to Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

<sup>1</sup> Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi-divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god, shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods of

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782 they do not worship any thing that is the work of their own hands, nor any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of Hogs, Dogs and Fruit as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematical as their Morais are perfectly free from every thing of the kind; but that they offer real human sacrifices is with me not a doubt. Their Morias or 346 Afiatoucas, for they are called by both names, but mostly by the 764 latter, are as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, a burying ground and a place of worship, though there are some that seemed to be only appropriated to the first, but these are small and in every other respect inferior to the others.

764 As we never saw a funeral, I can give no account of the ceremony used on that occasion. We only know that the dead are buried in these Morias, probably in something like vaults, or as Omai called them (who was with me when I made the enquiry) stone coffens.<sup>1</sup>

128 I shall conclude my observations on these islands and people with giving some account of the Astronomical and Nautical observations that were made during our stay among them. And first I must observe that the difference of Longitude between Anamocka Latitude and and Tongatabu, is less by than in the Chart Longitude and Narrative of my last voyage; an error that might easily arrise, as the longitude of each was found without any connection with the other, but now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that will not admit of the least error; and which the following table will illustrate.

131 The Latitude of the observatory at Tongatabu }  
by the mean of several observations }

776 'some (numerous ones—district gods, lineage gods and family gods) dwell in a region in the west called Pulotu, to which the souls of chiefs and matapule made their way; but commoners came, as it were, to a dead end. They have a very Gentlemanlike notion of a future State, they firmly believe that Woweatooa never troubles himself about any one but the Eggees or Gentlemen but when they are dead they rot & return to earth & there is an end of them.'—Bayly, 17 May. King, 5 July, has something to add. 'My friend Fattafal' he did me the honour to appear much affect'd during the time I was packing up the observatory, he with earnestness prest me to stay, & told me that he woud build a large house on the point w[h]ere our observatories stood, & that I shoud observe the heavens in peace. It shoud be observ'd, that when these people gave any opinion as to the use of the clocks & other instruments & the reason of our observing, they always supposed the Clock to be an Eatōoa (God) & that we were performing religious ceremonies to the Sun Moon & [c]; many of these notions of theirs were rather countenanc'd, as it was surely better to leave them with ideas of our having some religion than none at all & it is too true, that no other part of our conduct or way of spending our time, could furnish them with the smallest reason to suppose we had any Religion, indeed many of them woud ask who & what was our God, which we endeavourd to answer by saying he was theirs as well as our God, & corresponded with an opinion of their own of one Omnipotent being: the little we were able to learn concerning their religious tenets shall be referred to another place.'

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation of 'stone coffens' as vaults is of course correct; but Cook might have omitted his 'something like'. They were indubitable vaults.

644 special title, Tamaha. A Tamaha was often married to a Fijian, or an  
 554 individual of the societal division Ha'a Fale-Fisi, who although not  
 644 full Fijian were considered Fijian. A second way to prevent a sister's  
 554 children's children from outranking his own children's children, was  
 582 for a Tu'i to have his son marry his sister's child. Cross-cousin  
 609 marriage was not proscribed, proscribed, or preferred, but it was  
 644 practiced to prevent social repercussions that might result if a  
 534  
 582 Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line.  
 605

According to Tongan tradition, the first Tu'i Tonga of the  
 643 present dynasty was born after the god Tangaloa Litumatupua climbed  
 713 down from the sky on a great casuarina tree and cohabited with a woman  
 173 of the earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm. The  
 child of this union was Ahoeitu. When Ahoeitu was old enough he went  
 to the sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial  
 half-brothers who became his matamula, ceremonial attendants. Ahoeitu,  
 half-man and half-god, lived over a thousand years ago (about 950)  
 and from him the present King descends from a collateral line. The  
 succeeding Tu'i Tonga who descended from Ahoeitu were born of the  
 643 daughters of the highest chiefs in the land. Several Tu'i Tonga were  
 173 assassinated and in about the fifteenth century the incumbent Tu'i  
 Tonga appointed a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The first  
 Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was a younger brother of the 24th Tu'i Tonga. The  
 Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was given only temporal power while the Tu'i Tonga  
 retained for himself high rank and spiritual status.

## Whitcombe—Notes on Tongan Ethnology

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Octopus stone (*maka feke*). A tiger shell is split in halves and fastened to a stone. Sometimes two or three half-shells are tied to the same stone, which is cone-shaped. The result looks like a rat, especially when a long tail is tied to the stone. The rat is trawled by a long line from a canoe, the fisherman who holds the line keeping the stone bobbing up and down in the water to attract the octopus. When the octopus dives for the rat he clings to it and is drawn into the canoe. 226

Spearing by torchlight (*ama vato*). The torch is made from *teume*, which is the dried sheath that protects the coconut flower. The fish are attracted by the lighted torch which is held at one end of the canoe, and are speared as they swim toward the light. [416]

Torchlight fishing with knives (*ama ta*). The fishermen wade on the reef with torches and long knives. As the fish swim toward the light they are cut down.

Shark fishing with a noose (*noo aga*). In Tonga the great shark-fishing grounds are between the islands of Eua and 'Tongatabu and it is here that the fishermen go in their canoes to sing their song to Hina, as follows: "Hina hau o mau ho sisi Ka mau mamata" (Hina, come and receive your garland of flowers so we may see). While the men are singing or chanting these words, they are also beating the sea with coconut shells attached to a long stick. There is a legend which tells of Hina, a beautiful woman who lived at Hala Kakala (road of flowers), and of how she was drowned in a whirlpool near Eua. While racing in a canoe with her lover, Sinilau, the whirlpool caught them and Hina was lost. From the spot where she was drowned sprang up the sharks, and to this day the people believe that their song to Hina will call the sharks to the reef. As they come toward the canoes, they are noosed and killed with clubs. 226 [533]

Fish traps (*bola*). These traps are made by splitting the leaves of the coconut palms and plaiting them. They are then spread over a long stretch of reef when the tide is low. As the tide rises, natives wade out and prop up the leaves, thus trapping all fish that are in the enclosure. Hundreds of people; men, women, and children, form a line outside the *bola* waiting until the tide is out, to prevent the fish from escaping with the outrunning tide. At a given signal everyone jumps into the enclosure and spears the fish while they are in shallow water. More than a thousand fish may be speared at one time in this way.

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the differences between one type of kava ceremony and another. 121  
 I think this process of exploration is analogous to the use of patients' associations to dreams.

In the course of talking around the ceremony several informants told me the myth of the origin of kava, which proved to be a useful lead. I recorded two versions of the myth and [126] there are others in the literature (Gifford, 1924, pp. 71-5). Their points of similarity and difference helped to clarify the [115] central theme of the myth but I only have time for one version, which is the one recorded by the late Queen Sālote.

## THE MYTH OF THE ORIGIN OF KAVA

One day the King of Tonga went fishing with a friend. They 539  
 did not catch anything, and as they were tired and hungry 773 ●  
 they called in at the little island of 'Euciki to get something to 276  
 eat. At that time there was only one couple living on the island  
 and they had one child, a daughter, whose name was Kava'onau.  
 (In some versions the name is abbreviated to 'Kava'.) She had  
 leprosy. It was a time of famine and the only food the couple  
 had left was a large kape plant (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*) which  
 stood near the beach. When the King landed he sat down to  
 rest against this plant. When the couple realized who their  
 guest was they set about making an earth oven, but when they  
 came to get their sole remaining food plant they could not use  
 it because the King was leaning on it. The King's friend saw  
 the couple hit something in their house and bring it out to be  
 baked in the earth oven. He saw that they had killed their  
 daughter because they had nothing else to give their King.  
 The King's friend told the King what the couple had done.  
 The King was deeply moved by their sacrifice. He rose up  
 immediately and returned to the main island, telling the couple  
 to bury their child properly.

Two plants grew from the grave, one from the head and  
 one from the foot. One day the couple saw a mouse bite the



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539 first plant, stagger a bit, and then bite the second plant, after  
773 which he recovered his balance.

276 One day Lo'au came to the island and the couple told him all that had happened. (Lo'au is a figure who turns up in Tongan legend and mythology at times when social institutions are being established or changed. He tells the people how to organize their social life and then fades from view. He is thought of as human, not a god, and he is called the 'carpenter of the land', which, freely translated, means the establisher of social customs.)

When Lo'au heard the couple's story he sat in silence for a time, deeply moved, and then he spoke in poetry telling them what they should do. They must take the two plants to the King and give him Lo'au's instructions about how the plants should be used. The one from the head was to be used to make a drink, and that was the kava, and the other was to be eaten with the drink, and that was the sugar cane. The couple did as Lo'au had told them. At first the King thought their plant might be poisonous. He had one of his matāpule taste it first. But on finding it was all right he directed the people to carry out Lo'au's instructions.

And so kava was made for the first time and the rules and procedures for making it were established.

276 Tongans say that the origin of the kava from the leprous girl explains some of its properties. The shoots of the kava plant grow, split, and become limey and grey like the skin of a leper, and the skin of those who drink too much kava becomes grey and scaly like the skin of a leper. There are other linguistic

[226] links with the idea of kava as a poison. *Kavafisi* and *kavahaha* are creepers used as fish poisons. The word '*kavahia*' means

[244] to be nauseated. Some informants told me that they felt nauseated when they drank strong green kava, and nausea is said to have been the Tongan reaction to attempts to copy the Fijian custom of *actually* eating human flesh.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, in other contexts Tongans said that kava loosened the tongue and made one feel pleasantly relaxed. Thus there is a series of

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276 little scope for the formal expression of conflict, envy, and  
 574 jealousy. For example, there is one titleholder whose duty it is  
 571 to see that the kava is well prepared and that everyone behaves  
 565 properly. In 1959 the incumbent of this title was a man of  
 comparatively low personal rank; he aimed his sharpest reprimands at two titleholders of very high personal rank, men whom he would never have dared to challenge in any other social context. But he was not alone; all the men of low rank relished his performance. Even in this case, the titleholder concerned was not ceremonially obliged to abuse the men of high rank. What he did was left to his own initiative.

276 In other words, the formal, prescribed events of the ceremony emphasize unity and harmony. Rivalry, jealousy, and  
 574 envy are widely and consciously felt, to varying degrees, but  
 571 their expression is either unofficial or is left to individual initiative.<sup>8</sup>

276 The myth of the origin of the kava helps to elucidate the  
 574 contradictory attitudes implied in the ceremony. When the  
 539 late Queen was reflecting on this myth she said it expressed the  
 773 mutual sacrifice and understanding between ruler and subjects  
 643 that was essential to keep Tonga united and strong. It was this  
 mutual sacrifice and understanding the kava ceremony was commemorating. I agreed with this interpretation, but said I thought the myth also expressed suspiciousness and hostility between ruler and subjects. The couple sacrificed their most precious possession, their daughter, but she did have leprosy; eating her might have harmed the King. The King's refusal to eat her was partly an act of generosity, but he was also protecting himself. And when the couple brought in the plant, he thought at first that it might be poisonous. If I had thought of it at the time, I might have added that the couple's sacrifice was an insult to the King, for to call someone a 'man eater' is a common insult in Tonga. And, in addition to everything else, spitefulness is implied in the couple's heroic act. It is as if they were saying to their King, 'Look at the dreadful thing you have made us do.'

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After some discussion the Queen said that such suspicious-  
 ness between ruler and subjects was probably inevitable and  
 natural. Perhaps what the myth and the ceremony meant was  
 that mutual understanding and sacrifice were possible in spite  
 of doubt and suspicion.

This was as far as I got with the myth while we were still in  
 Tonga. After we left I wished I had asked many other questions  
 about it, for it now seems to me that there are many other  
 levels of meaning and feeling in it. If I were doing the study  
 again I would ask why the little island of 'Euciki? Why the  
 famine, the cannibalism, and, above all, the leprosy, all of  
 which are known in Tonga but have always been rare. Why  
 the particular food plant, the kape, and what of the many  
 different triangular situations mentioned in the various ver-  
 sions of the myth? There is one issue that I think worth in-  
 cluding even though I did not explore it fully at the time. The  
 myth seems to deal with the progression of psychic experience  
 from a very primitive level in which good and bad are con-  
 fused and contaminated to one in which good and bad are  
 better differentiated, so that it becomes possible to distinguish  
 the symbol from the object. The burial, in other words, trans-  
 forms the contaminated, sacrificed girl into the two plants, the  
 kava, which is still potentially poisonous, and its antidote, the  
 sugar cane.<sup>9</sup>

The kava myth helps to understand what the plant sym-  
 bolizes and why Tongans regard it as strong stuff, but it does  
 not throw much light on the actual events of the ceremony -  
 the pounding, pouring in of water, serving, etc. For this we  
 must turn, very briefly, to another myth that almost para-  
 phrases some of the events of the kava ceremony. The explicit  
 claim of this myth to relevance in connection with the kava  
 ceremony is that it is concerned with the origin of the system of  
 titles that the kava ceremony ceremonially displays. None of  
 my informants pointed out the close parallel between the events  
 of the kava ceremony and the events of the myth, though I  
 was told the myth in the context of discussing the ceremony so

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276 that there was obviously an associative link. I myself was only  
 574 half aware of the connections between the myth and the  
 539 ceremony while I was still in Tonga, I think this half-awareness  
 ● 773 is similar to Tongans' feeling about the myth. A connection  
 is dimly felt without being explicitly thought out.

276 The story of the myth is simple and melodramatic. A god  
 574 from the sky has intercourse with a woman of the earth and a  
 539 son is born, called 'Aho'eitu. When he grows up he wants to  
 773 see his father and, following instructions from his mother, he  
 643 climbs up to the sky by a giant ironwood tree. 'Aho'eitu is  
 enthusiastically welcomed by his father, who thinks at first that  
 'Aho'eitu is a god of even higher rank than himself. The father  
 then sends his new-found son, without introduction, to see his  
 other sons in the sky, presumably the sons of sky mothers.  
 When 'Aho'eitu's half-brothers see everyone admiring 'Aho'eitu  
 because of his beauty, and when they hear rumours that he is  
 their father's son, they tear 'Aho'eitu to pieces and eat him up.  
 The father suspects what they have done. He calls for a wooden  
 bowl and makes his sons vomit into it. This is very reminiscent  
 of the former custom of chewing the kava, of the statements  
 that kava sometimes makes people feel like vomiting, and of  
 the linguistic association with nausea. The sons vomit up  
 'Aho'eitu's flesh and blood, they confess, and the father sends  
 people to collect the bones and the head, which are also put  
 in the bowl. Water is poured into the bowl, as in the kava  
 ceremony. The pouring in of the water, as I have noted above,  
 is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony. After some  
 time 'Aho'eitu begins to take shape and finally sits up in the  
 bowl. Then the father calls all his sons together and tells them  
 that 'Aho'eitu will go back to the earth to become the first  
 king of Tonga, the first Tu'i Tonga. At this point, the myth  
 says, affection awakens in the hearts of the brothers, and they  
 plead with their father to be allowed to go with 'Aho'eitu. The  
 father agrees. Four of the brothers go down to earth to serve  
 'Aho'eitu as his matāpule. The fifth and eldest brother cannot  
 be king, the father says, because he is guilty of murder, but he

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will be the King of the Second House (Tu'i Fale Ua). If 'Aho-  
'eitu's line should die out then the King of the Second House  
will become King. (This is the rationale for the belief, men-  
tioned above, that the last Tu'i Tonga bequeathed his kava  
prerogatives to the King of the Second House.) There are  
several other myths and legends that purport to show that all  
through Tongan history the descendants of the King of the  
Second House tried to murder 'Aho'eitu's descendants in order  
to wipe out his line.

Using the leads provided by this myth, I think that the  
chewing or, nowadays, the pounding of the kava is a symbolic  
repetition of psychic cannibalism, representing a desire both  
to get possession of the qualities of the beautiful envied brother  
and son and to destroy him. This mixture of admiration, greed,  
and destructive envy is a familiar theme from the analysis of  
the cannibalistic fantasies of patients. But of course in the  
ceremony it is kava that is pounded or chewed, not a person;  
this symbolic transformation is taken up in the kava myth.

The idea that the pounding of the kava may represent  
cannibalistic destruction of an envied object, a brother or son,  
is consistent with the fact that the people in the outer group,  
who used to chew and now help to pound the kava, stand in the  
relation of 'child' or 'younger brother' to the titleholders of the  
main circle.<sup>10</sup> In other words, the kava plant is presented to the  
presiding chief as 'Aho'eitu was presented to his father. The  
father then sends the kava/son to be destroyed. The destruc-  
tion is carried out by 'children', though perhaps also by  
'younger brothers' (of the 'father') – an indication that people  
in the 'father' category are involved in the destruction. The  
father's envy and destructiveness are hinted at in the myth,  
for the father at first thinks his son is of higher rank, and then  
sends him to his other sons without introduction. He immediately  
suspects his other sons of murder and cannibalism, as if the  
thought were not far from his own mind. So far as I could  
discover none of this is conscious. That is, participants in the  
ceremony are aware to some extent of their envy and jealousy

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276 of one another, and most of them know the two myths, but  
574 they do not consciously link the two sets of knowledge.

154 In the 'Aho'eitu myth incorporation and destruction are  
571 followed by healing water and the awakening of good feeling.  
Once this has taken place the kava is served, that is, the ex-  
perience can be re-incorporated in a form that is soothing and  
tranquillizing. But the transformation is not always successful,  
for strong green kava sometimes makes people want to vomit.  
In other words, the method of preparing the kava can be seen  
as an effort to convert envy and jealousy into remorse and affec-  
tion, to change poisonous feelings into feelings of tranquillity  
and harmony. But other myths and legends make it clear that  
envy and jealousy can never be overcome entirely and per-  
manently, just as they can never be eradicated from everyday  
life. The feelings appropriate to cannibalism are here to stay.  
Envy, greed, and jealousy are always with us, but so are ad-  
miration and remorse. Conflict is inevitable. The kava cere-  
mony states the particular Tongan variant of this general  
human dilemma and tries to communicate the idea that the  
forces of love can be made stronger than the forces of hate, at  
least temporarily. Once again, people do not think all this out  
consciously. They feel there is something good about the cere-  
mony, something healing, but no one phrases it in terms of  
reparation to a damaged object and the re-incorporation of the  
whole experience.

276 As with the kava myth, there are many other possible inter-  
574 pretations of the 'Aho'eitu myth. One version of the myth,  
539 for example, goes into considerable detail about the way the  
773 brothers threw 'Aho'eitu's head into a bush, which caused the  
154 bush to become poisonous. Perhaps this is a way of talking  
about castration, with the customary theme of power residing  
in the cut-off head/phallus. There is a great deal of ambiguity  
in the myth about who is killing whom. Obviously the half-  
brothers kill 'Aho'eitu, but he is the father's favourite so they  
are attacking the father as well. The father himself sends  
'Aho'eitu to his death, as I have indicated above. And what of



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the mother far away in Tonga? 'Aho'eitu is her only son, so 276  
 she is being attacked and perhaps destroyed. But it is she who 574  
 tells 'Aho'eitu how to get to heaven in the first place. And what 539  
 of the link with the kava myth itself in which a daughter is 773  
 destroyed? Is it a daughter only or also a mother in disguise? 154

I do not think one can select any particular interpretation 121  
 as the 'right' one. None of them can be 'proved' or 'disproved',  
 at least not by the methods appropriate to the consulting-  
 room, nor by any other method that I could think of at the time.  
 In the consulting room, where the two partners to the rela-  
 tionship are supposed to be discovering psychic truth, however  
 painful and improbable, one can make interpretations about  
 unconscious cannibalism or unconscious desires to castrate a  
 brother, and judge from the patient's reactions whether the  
 interpretations are close to home or wide of the mark. One  
 always has the transference situation, of which one has direct  
 experience, as a yardstick against which the manifest content  
 of the patient's material can be compared. In Tonga I was [123]  
 often aware of transference, especially of the more obvious  
 aspects of it: the attitude that I was a foreigner with whom a  
 cultural 'front' had to be kept up; attempts to 'use' me in one  
 way or another to gain some social end; the feeling that I was  
 a sympathetic outsider with whom emotional burdens could  
 be shared. But I never felt it appropriate to interpret the  
 transference. I found I was prepared to raise such issues as the  
 likelihood of hostility between rulers and subject, particularly  
 with a very secure and much-loved monarch, but I was not  
 prepared to try out interpretations of cannibalism or castration  
 with anyone, so unprepared, in fact, that I could hardly think  
 of such interpretations intellectually until I had left the field.  
 The social situation I was in did not sanction such endeavours.

From among the many possible interpretations, I have 276  
 emphasized the theme of cannibalism and reparation, of the 574  
 destruction and restoration of a brother/son, because it seemed 154  
 to me the most obvious, the most consistent with the events  
 and the status differentials of the ceremony, and the most in

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stylised etiquette to mark the different roles that a man or woman is playing at any one moment' (Gluckman, 1962, pp. 26-7). 276  
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8. In recent years anthropologists have devoted much attention to conflict and ambivalence and their expression in religion and ritual as well as in everyday affairs. See especially Fortes (1959); Gluckman (1955), (1963) especially the Introduction and Chapter 3 entitled 'Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa' and (1965), especially Chapter 6 entitled 'Mystical Disturbance and Ritual Adjustment'; Leach (1965); Turner (1957) and (1964). 276  
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One problem of particular relevance is that some rituals incorporate conflict directly into the prescribed events of the ritual whereas others, like the kava ceremony, imply conflict but do not prescribe its enactment. But a comparative discussion of this topic would lead me too far from the immediate problem of the kava ceremony.

9. On the differentiation of 'good' and 'bad' as part of normal psychic development, see especially W. R. Bion (1957), (1958), and (1962). See also Hanna Segal (1964). On the differentiation of symbol from object see Hanna Segal (1957). 276  
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10. The early accounts of kava ceremonies in which the kava was chewed instead of pounded do not specify whether the chewing was done only by the 'children' in the outer group or also by the 'younger brothers'. All we know is that the people who did the chewing were in the outer group and that a considerable number of them took part in the chewing. Nowadays only the kava maker does the actual pounding. 276  
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- 121) to be taken seriously as scientists they need to develop methods of analysis that are less dependent upon private hunch, and it is primarily on this account that I feel they should pay close attention to the work of Lévi-Strauss. If structuralism has any advantage over the alternative techniques considered by Richards and Bott it is precisely because it can claim to be, relatively speaking, 'intuition free'.

The basic issue is one of methodology. Are there operations by which we can analyse sequences of myth and ritual and say quite positively that 'the evidence shows that this and this is the case', or must we always fall back on some equivocating personal formula — 'it seems to me that' or 'it is surely obvious that'?

From this point of view the distinctive characteristic of structuralist procedure is that the analyst tries to avoid making symbolic substitutions which are not already quite overtly specified in the evidence. It is this aspect of structuralist analysis that I shall seek to demonstrate in this essay. Unlike some practitioners of the technique I share with Bott the functionalist assumption that myth is a charter for ritual performance and that we can only understand what is being symbolized in the ritual if we take note of what is being 'said' in the mythology. However, unlike Bott, I assume that it is the structural patterns embedded in the mythology rather than the superficial content that conveys the significant message.

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773 Here is a preliminary example of what I mean. In one of the myths cited below (Bott II, p. 253), we are told how older brothers of a common father from a foreign land kill and eat their younger Tongan half-brother. In another myth (Gifford V, p. 251), which is in all structural respects the converse of the first, an elder half-brother of a common mother runs away to live in a foreign land from which he returns at the time of his younger Tongan half-brother's death.<sup>1</sup> One way of describing this antithesis is to say that the two stories present a contrast between 'the overemphasis of kinship bonds' (death associated with mutual identification) and 'the underemphasis of kinship

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bonds' (death associated with mutual separation). This contrast is presented to us by the evidence itself; it does not require <sup>114</sup>539 'interpretation' by the analyst (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 215). <sup>773</sup> In the course of the essay that follows I shall constantly revert to this contrast, which is expressed in the actual ritual by a marked ambivalence in the relationship between the presiding chief and the presiding matāpule (cf. Bott, pp. 225-6 above).

The distinctiveness of this procedure may be seen if we compare it with that employed by Bott who interprets the mythology by resort to intuition. Thus she claims that the myth (Bott II) mentioned above, represents a symbolic displacement of parental envy or castration symbolism (Bott, p. 230 above). Plainly she is here introducing an element of Freudian dogma which is quite external to the evidence as such.

All the same, we should not too hastily assume that Bott's conclusions must be false. The skeletal structural analysis that I have proposed above is precisely analogous to one which <sup>121</sup> Lévi-Strauss applied in 1953 to a series of incidents in the classical Theban saga (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 215). In that case the 'overemphasis of kinship bonds' was exemplified by the love of Oedipus for Jocasta and of Antigone for Polynices whereas the 'underemphasis of kinship bonds' was exemplified by the hostility between Oedipus and Laios and between Eteocles and Polynices. Since the Theban saga contains within itself all the basic complexes of the Freudian dogma it is hardly surprising that Bott should have got a whiff of ancient Thebes when contemplating the Tongan drama of 'Aho'eitu! But this, of course, raises the more general question of what is the relation between structuralist 'objective' analysis and psycho-analytic 'intuitive' analysis? The following material is designed to pursue this problem rather further.

I must first draw attention to a difficulty that Bott herself <sup>114</sup> ignores. Her paper is, in the main, an analysis of 'royal' kava <sup>276</sup> ceremonials as performed during the reign of the late Queen <sup>574</sup> Salote. Bott observed such ceremonials and discussed them with

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276 because the personal rank contains the added element of  
574 matrilineal succession from a Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

554 My hypothesis is that the kava ceremonial provides a charter  
565 for this discrepancy. I postulate that although the seating  
arrangements are strictly by title the actual presentation of the  
kava represents the legendary maternal ancestry of the in-  
dividual recipients.

128 With this possibility in mind let us turn to consider the  
mythology.

539 Bott tells us that she recorded two versions of 'The Myth of the  
773 Origin of Kava' and draws the reader's attention to four other  
versions printed by Gifford (1924, pp. 71-5). The version that  
Bott herself provides is as follows:

*Bott I*

One day the King of Tonga went fishing with a friend. They did not catch anything, and as they were tired and hungry they called in at the little island of 'Eueiki to get something to eat. At that time there was only one couple living on the island and they had one child, a daughter, whose name was Kava'onau. (In some versions the name is abbreviated to 'Kava'.) She had leprosy. It was a time of famine and the only food the couple had left was a large kape plant (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*) which stood near the beach. When the King landed he sat down to rest against this plant. When the couple realized who their guest was they set about making an earth oven but when they came to get their sole remaining food plant, they could not use it because the King was leaning on it. The King's friend saw the couple hit something in their house and bring it out to be baked in the earth oven. He saw that they had killed their daughter because they had nothing else to give their King. The King's friend told the King what the couple had done. The King was deeply moved by their sacrifice. He rose up immediately and returned to the main island, telling the couple to bury their child properly.

Two plants grew from the grave, one from the head and one from the foot. One day the couple saw a mouse bite the first plant, stagger a bit, and then bite the second plant, after which he recovered his balance.

One day Lo'au came to the island and the couple told him all that had happened . . . When Lo'au heard the couple's story he

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sat in silence for a time, deeply moved, and then he spoke in poetry telling them what they should do. They must take the two plants to the King and give him Lo'au's instructions about how the plants should be used. The one from the head was to be used to make a drink, and that was the kava, and the other was to be eaten with the drink, and that was the sugar cane. The couple did as Lo'au had told them. At first the King thought their plant might be poisonous. He had one of his *matāpule* taste it first. But on finding it was all right he directed the people to carry out Lo'au's instructions.

And so kava was made for the first time and the rules and procedures for making it were established.

Bott glosses this with the comment:

Lo'au is a figure who turns up in Tongan legend and mythology at times when social institutions are being established or changed. He tells the people how to organise their social life and then fades from view. He is thought of as human, not a god, and he is called the 'carpenter of the land' which, freely translated, means the establisher of social customs (p. 216).

In Gifford's variants the following are the principal points of difference:

*Gifford I*

The 'King of Tonga' is referred to as the Tu'i Tonga, but this Tu'i Tonga is then merged with Lo'au. The couple living on 'Eueiki are named Fevanga and Fefafa, and Fevanga is a friend and attendant (*takanga*) of the Tu'i Tonga. The Tu'i Tonga visits 'Eueiki at Fevanga's invitation, and it is a return visit since Fevanga has previously visited the Tu'i Tonga at Mua. Fevanga and Fefafa manage to get the Tu'i Tonga away from the *kape* plant so they are able to dig it up and they bake the *kape* along with their murdered daughter. When the food is placed before 'the chief Lo'au' he immediately identifies it: 'Why have you destroyed your child? Did you not know it was a kava plant?' After the body has been buried the kava plant grows from the head, the sugar plant from the intestines (not the foot). The detail about the King thinking the kava was poisonous and testing it on a *matāpule* is omitted.

*Gifford II*

'The King' is referred to throughout as 'a chief called Lo'au' who lives at Ha'amea (i.e. he is Tu'i Ha'amea). The story follows



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- 539 Gifford I rather than Bott I. The buried corpse is cut into two  
 773 parts, the head being buried in one place and the rest somewhere  
 else; both the magic plants grow from the head.

*Gifford III*

'The King' is specifically described as 'The Tu'i Tonga named Lo'au'. The story follows Bott I rather than Gifford I in that it implies that Lo'au and Fevanga are mutual strangers. There is no reference to the sugar plant. When the kava plant which has grown from the buried body has been dug up and taken to Lo'au he identifies it as 'Kava, child of Fevanga and Fefafa, the leper from Faimata ['Eueiki]'.  
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*Gifford IV*

The events take place at Eua<sup>4</sup> not at 'Euciki. No reference to Lo'au. 'The King' is described as Tu'i Tonga throughout. No reference to the *kape* plant. No reference to the sugar. This last is a fairly early version but derived second-hand from a missionary.

TU'ITĀTUI, MOMO, AND NUA

- 773 Elsewhere Gifford (1929, p. 71) identifies the Tu'i Tonga of Gifford I as Momo, the tenth Tu'i Tonga. According to tradition this Tu'i Tonga married Nua, the daughter of Lo'au, the Tu'i Ha'amea, by whom he had a son Tu'itātui who was the eleventh Tu'i Tonga (Gifford, 1929, p. 60). Tu'itātui is a prominent figure in Tongan myth/legend (see Gifford, 1929, pp. 52-3). Among other things he committed incest with his elder sister Latūtama, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (Gifford, 1924, p. 46). Heketa, the reputed locale of this adventure, is a real place on the island of Tongatabu (Gifford, 1929, p. 52) but, after the death of Tu'itātui, his sons are said to have moved to a new home because Heketa 'is bad, for it is rocky and rough' (Gifford, 1924, p. 46; cf. note 4, below).

It seems relevant that Gifford (1924, p. 47) cites a story that attributes to Tu'itātui the origin of the present arrangement of seating at a kava ceremonial.

The island of 'Eueiki, which figures in Bott I and in Gifford I-III, turns up again in another story about Tu'itātui

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(Gifford, 1924, pp. 47-9). This time he seduces not his sister 773 but a lady with the same name as his mother.

Tu'itātui is passing the island of 'Eueiki and sees a beautiful girl. At first he is not sure whether she is human or spirit. As in Bott I, there is again a suggestion (Gifford, 1924, p. 48) that there is no food on 'Eueiki. In the end Tu'itātui abducts the girl and they have children. The girl's name is Nua.

Gifford (1924, pp. 43-6) also gives two very similar versions 539 of a myth relating to the marriage of Momo and Nua (the 773 mother of Tu'itātui). The second of these runs as follows:

*Gifford V*

There was a Tu'i Tonga named Momo, who sent his attendant Leha'uli to the chief of Ha'amea (in Tongatabu) who was named Lo'au, telling him that he wanted 'new yams and old yams' to complete the planting of his little yam patch. Leha'uli did not understand the meaning of the message he bore. He really thought that the Tu'i Tonga wanted yams. Before he spoke to Lo'au, however, Lo'au guessed what he had come for. So Leha'uli delivered his message.

Lo'au told him to tell the Tu'i Tonga that he had 'no new yams but he had an old yam and bush yams', meaning one married daughter and 'daughters in the bush', i.e. illegitimate daughters.<sup>5</sup> The attendant took this message to the Tu'i Tonga, who again sent him to Lo'au to tell him that he wanted Nua, Lo'au's married daughter. She was married to Ngongokilitoto of Malapo, Tongatabu, who was chief of Ha'angongo (probably a clan or other group of people).

So Lo'au came to Malapo and spoke to Ngongokilitoto, telling him that the Tu'i Tonga wanted Nua. Ngongokilitoto told Lo'au to go and wait on the road until he had talked with Nua, for their marriage was a marriage for love.

Ngongokilitoto told Nua that he released her from marriage in order that she might go to the Tu'i Tonga, but he would visit her regularly. He told her that if she heard water dripping on a *kape* (*Arum costatum*) leaf as on a rainy night that it was a sign that he was outside.

Lo'au then took his daughter to the Tu'i Tonga. For some time Ngongokilitoto visited her. Whenever she heard the dripping on the *kape* leaf she went out to meet her husband. Nua had already born Ngongokilitoto a son called Fasiapule. She was anxious to

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539 bear a child to the Tu'i Tonga, so she told Ngongokilitoto that he  
 773 had better cease his visits. She wanted to have a child that was  
 without doubt the Tu'i Tonga's. After Ngongokilitoto ceased his  
 visits to Nua she became pregnant to the Tu'i Tonga. She bore a  
 son who was named Tu'itātui.

The story then continues at length about the relations between Tu'itātui and his half-brother Fasiapule. The beginning of this part of the story runs as follows:

When the Tu'i Tonga died, Tu'itātui became king. Tu'itātui did not know that he had a brother. One morning they had a ceremony in which the Ha'angongo people presented yams and other products to the Tu'i Tonga. Fasiapule came with the people. He brought a basket in which he carried a piece of charcoal, one ripe *mamae* (a sort of banana), one *toto* (a fruit), and the pithy inside of a banana tree through which a fibre ran.

During the kava drinking Fasiapule came inside the kava ring with his basket. Then he made a speech. First he picked up the banana pith and broke it in half, but it was still united by the fibre within. He told Tu'itātui that it was like themselves, that they could not break away from each other because they were born of the same woman. Then he picked up the *mamae* to show that the two half brothers will pity each other. If Fasiapule were to commit a wrong, Tu'itātui would have pity for him in his mind.

Then Fasiapule picked up the *toto* and told the Tu'i Tonga that they too were of one blood and united like the *toto*. Then he picked up the charcoal and told the Tu'i Tonga that his mind was dark like the charcoal, for he did not know until now that he had a brother in Fasiapule.

773 In the latter part of this story Fasiapule runs away to Fiji and returns just as Tu'itātui is about to be buried on the island of Eua. Fasiapule kills his Fijian companion and substitutes his corpse for that of Tu'itātui. He then takes Tu'itātui's corpse away to the island called Moun gatapu (Sacred Mountain) and thence to a place unknown, by some identified as Heketa, the locale of his seduction of his sister Latūtama (*supra*, p. 250).

276 Three unobtrusive details in this story deserve the reader's  
 574 attention. First, certain foods presented at a kava ceremonial

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are said to symbolize the solidarity that exists between an aristocrat and his chief by virtue of links of common maternal ancestry. Second, there is the charcoal symbolism of latent hostility between chiefs and aristocrats. Third, there is the marginality of Eua and Heketa.

In Gifford IV (p. 250) Eua is a substitution for 'Eueiki hence there is a recurrent association between 'Eukeiki and Heketa. Both are unpleasant 'sacred' places associated with sin and death. Both have real existence in modern geography but mythologically both seem to stand for 'the other world' of spirits rather than this world of living men.

In her paper Bott records a myth that is much more explicitly concerned with the polarization of this world and the other world (see p. 228). Bott considers that this myth relates to the origins of certain details of the kava ceremony itself. Her text is as follows:

*Bott II*

The story of the myth is simple and melodramatic. A god from the sky has intercourse with a woman of the earth and a son is born, called 'Aho'eitu. When he grows up he wants to see his father and, following instructions from his mother, he climbs up to the sky by a giant iron-wood tree. 'Aho'eitu is enthusiastically welcomed by his father, who thinks at first that 'Aho'eitu is a god of even higher rank than himself. The father then sends his new-found son, without introduction, to see his other sons in the sky, presumably the sons of sky mothers. When 'Aho'eitu's half-brothers see everyone admiring 'Aho'eitu because of his beauty, and when they hear rumours that he is their father's son, they tear 'Aho'eitu to pieces and eat him up. The father suspects what they have done. He calls for a wooden bowl and makes his sons vomit into it. This is very reminiscent of the former custom of chewing the kava, of the statements that kava sometimes makes people feel like vomiting, and of the linguistic association with nausea.<sup>6</sup> The sons vomit up 'Aho'eitu's flesh and blood, they confess, and the father sends people to collect the bones and the head which are also put in the bowl. Water is poured into the bowl, as in the kava ceremony. The pouring in of the water, as I have noted above, is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony. After some time 'Aho'eitu begins to take shape and

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539 finally sits up in the bowl. Then the father calls all his sons  
 773 together and tells them that 'Aho'eitu will go back to the earth  
 276 to become the first king of Tonga, the first Tu'i Tonga. At this  
 574 point, the myth says, affection awakens in the hearts of the  
 brothers, and they plead with their father to be allowed to go  
 with 'Aho'eitu. The father agrees. Four of the brothers go down to  
 earth to serve 'Aho'eitu as his matāpule. The fifth and eldest  
 brother cannot be king, the father says, because he is guilty of  
 murder, but he will be the King of the Second House (Tu'i Fale  
 Ua). If 'Aho'eitu's line should die out then the King of the Second  
 House will become King. (This is the rationale for the belief,  
 mentioned above, that the last Tu'i Tonga bequeathed his kava  
 prerogatives to the King of the Second House.) There are  
 several other myths and legends that purport to show that all  
 through Tongan history the descendants of the King of the Second  
 House tried to murder 'Aho'eitu's descendants in order to wipe  
 out his line.'

539 According to Bott (personal communication) this version of  
 773 the story is compounded from the accounts of several distin-  
 guished informants including the Queen Salote herself. Gif-  
 ford (1924, pp. 26-9, 38-43) gives us two alternative versions.  
 Both are considerably longer than Bott II but contain much the  
 same elements. Bott (p. 230) mentions that in one version of  
 this myth 'the brothers threw 'Aho'eitu's head into a bush,  
 which caused the bush to become poisonous', and she sees this  
 as 'perhaps a way of talking about castration'. Both of Gifford's  
 versions contain this detail and in one of them the point is  
 made that - 'they threw the head among the plants called  
*hoi*. This caused one kind of *hoi* to become bitter. There is  
 another kind that is sweet. The bitter kind became so because  
 'Aho'eitu's head was thrown into it. That kind of *hoi* is not  
 eaten because it is poisonous.'

I have already commented (p. 240) on certain similarities  
 and contrasts between elements in Bott II and 'corresponding'  
 elements in Gifford V (p. 251). In Bott II the relationship  
 between the Tu'i Tonga ('Aho'eitu) and his murderers is that  
 of half-brother through a common father; in Gifford V, the  
 relationship between the Tu'i Tonga (Tu'itātui) and Fasiapule

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is that of half-brother through a common mother. In the 'Aho-<sup>773</sup>  
'eitu case it is the heavenly half-brothers who might reasonably<sup>539</sup>  
be considered of high status, it is the Tu'i Tonga who is of  
low status - 'the son in the bush' (hence perhaps the story  
about the *hoi* bush?).<sup>7</sup> In Bott II, the half-brothers kill 'Aho-  
'eitu in the other world and assimilate themselves to him by  
eating his body; the end of the story has both 'Aho'eitu and his  
half-brothers in this world with 'Aho'eitu as Tu'i Tonga and  
the half-brothers permanently linked to him as his subordinate  
matāpule. In Gifford V this sequence is precisely reversed. The  
story starts with Tu'itātui and Fasiapule in the relationship of  
Tu'i Tonga and subordinate in this world, emphasis being  
given to the permanence of this link; it continues with the death  
of Tu'itātui and the substitution of his body by Fasiapule and  
ends with Fasiapule assimilating himself to the dead Tu'itātui  
and removing himself and the dead half-brother to 'the other  
world' (cf. *supra*, p. 253).

These similarities and inversions establish in an objective  
(non-intuitional) sense that the Gifford V and Bott II stories  
are closely associated. But Gifford V also ties in with the 'Origin  
of Kava' stories (Bott I, Gifford I-IV), which involve links  
between the Tu'i Tonga (Momo), the Culture Hero semi-  
deity Lo'au, and the wife-mother-daughter Nua. The stories I  
have mentioned are thus *demonstrably* all members of a single  
set. This is an important point. Several other stories in Gifford  
(1924) have elements of similarity with those that I have given  
here, but none of them are tied into a single complex in the  
same way through multiple cross-references.

Certain additional observations on the half-brother theme in  
the Bott II and Gifford V stories deserve attention. In the Bott  
II version the half-brothers, who are related through a common  
*father*, only begin to act as kinsmen after the murder and the  
complete physical assimilation; in Gifford V, where the link  
is through a common *mother*, it is emphasized from the start  
that the bond of kinship is indissoluble despite differences of  
titular status and physical separation. Furthermore, in Bott



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539 II it is the divine father who allocates to the half-brothers  
773 their respective titles while in Gifford V the half-brothers are  
of different titular status *because* they have different fathers.

Bott II and Gifford V both lay stress on the same feature of  
real life social organization, namely that while (a) titles are  
passed from father to son and not from mother to son and no  
two individuals can simultaneously hold the same title, never-  
theless (b) a quality of personal rank (as distinct from title) is  
passed from mother to son, so that two sons of the same mother  
will always share an element of this personal rank even if they  
are of different titular status (*supra*, pp. 246, 247).

114 When Bott wrote her paper she was evidently unable to see  
539 any very direct connection between her myth about 'Aho'eitu  
773 (Bott II) and the story about the murdered leprous girl (Bott  
I) but she recognized that somehow there ought to be such a  
connection. Her comment on the 'Aho'eitu story (Bott II) is  
as follows:

There is a great deal of ambiguity in the myth about who is  
killing whom. Obviously the half-brothers kill 'Aho'eitu, but  
he is the father's favourite, so they are attacking the father as well.  
The father himself sends 'Aho'eitu to his death . . . And what of  
the mother far away in Tonga? 'Aho'eitu is her only son, so she is  
being attacked and perhaps destroyed. But it is she who tells  
'Aho'eitu how to get to heaven in the first place. And what of the  
link with the kava myth itself in which a daughter is destroyed?  
Is it a daughter only or also a mother in disguise? (pp. 230-1).

As we have already seen, there is quite independent evidence  
of a structural kind that 'the daughter is also a mother in  
disguise'.

539 There is no need to guess about a possible relationship  
773 between the two myths. The relationship palpably exists, and  
an analysis item by item will enable us to see what it is. In both  
stories 'this world' of ordinary human activity is contrasted with  
an 'other world' of mythical happenings. In Bott I and the 'other  
world' is 'Eueiki (*supra*, p. 253); in Bott II it is a Land in the

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Sky. Now it is the characteristic of 'other worlds' that the events that happen there are altogether strange. So when Bott asks herself (p. 227) – 'Why the famine, the cannibalism, and above all the leprosy, all of which are known in Tonga but have always been rare?' she has provided her own answer. In part, these details simply serve to demonstrate that 'Eueiki is 'other' – 'In the Land of the Dead, Man stands on his Head', life goes back to front and upside down. But certainly there is more to it than that.

Let us suppose that both stories are not merely interrelated but that, at a certain level, they are, more or less, identical, and see where we get to. In the following tabulation I assume that each story consists of a series of 'bits' (binary digits) of information that might be coded onto a suitably designed computer programme as +/– alternatives. These 'structural elements', which are common to both stories, are listed in the left-hand column; the nature of the contrast or similarity between the treatment of these structural elements in the two stories is indicated in the two right-hand columns.

| <i>Structural element:</i>           | <i>BOTT I<br/>myth<br/>detail:</i>          | <i>BOTT II<br/>myth<br/>detail:</i>                   |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. The other world is                | the island 'Eueiki                          | a land in the sky                                     |
| 2. It is reached by                  | a boat made of wood that floats             | a tree made of wood that sinks (iron wood)            |
| 3. The visitor to the other world is | the Tu'i Tonga (Momo) or Lo'au              | 'Aho'eitu, the future Tu'i Tonga                      |
| 4. The victim is                     | a leper girl who belongs to the other world | a beautiful boy ('Aho'eitu) who belongs to this world |
| 5. The host is                       | either a stranger or the visitor's matāpule | the visitor's father                                  |
| 6. The murderer is                   | the victim's parent                         | the victim's half-brothers                            |
| 7. Attitude of host to visitor is    | deferential                                 | deferential                                           |
| 8. Visitor and Victim are            | different                                   | identical                                             |

(cont'd)

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| 539<br>773 Structural<br>element: | BOTT I<br>myth<br>detail:                                                                                                                                        | BOTT II<br>myth<br>detail:                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9. Host and Murderer<br>are       | identical                                                                                                                                                        | different                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 10. The Victim is<br>killed       | by beating<br>(pounding)                                                                                                                                         | by rending and<br>chewing                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 11. The Victim is                 | cooked by baking                                                                                                                                                 | is not cooked                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 12. The Victim's<br>body is       | not eaten                                                                                                                                                        | eaten                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 13. It is then                    | buried                                                                                                                                                           | vomited up and ritu-<br>ally mixed with water                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 14. Then                          | two plants grow<br>from the body                                                                                                                                 | the Victim is reconsti-<br>tuted from the vomit                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 15. and                           | while the plant from<br>the head becomes kava,<br>the other growing from<br>the intestines (or the<br>feet, or the head)<br>becomes sugar cane                   | the Victim becomes<br>the first Tu'i Tonga                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 16. The murderers are             | persons in the other<br>world who had the<br>status of matāpule in<br>this world (see below<br>p. 268)                                                           | persons in the other<br>world who later<br>acquire the status of<br>matāpule in this world                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 17. they                          | gather kava from the<br>residuum of the<br>victim and offer it to<br>the Tu'i Tonga, but he<br>gives it to his<br>matāpule to prepare<br>and distribute ritually | become the first<br>matāpule in relation to<br>their reconstituted<br>victim, the Tu'i Tonga.<br>As matāpule one of<br>their principal duties is<br>the preparation of the<br>kava. However, the<br>eldest of the murderer<br>brothers, the Tu'i Fale<br>Ua does not become a<br>matāpule but rather a<br>kind of Deputy Tu'i<br>Tonga |

Further correspondences associate both these myths with Tu'itātui stories (*supra*, pp. 250-3).

In Bott I, Lo'au is a distinct person from the Tu'i Tonga and is associated with the parents of the murdered girl. It is

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Lo'au who sends the kava plant from 'Eueiki to the Tu'i Tonga. 539  
773 ●

In contrast, in Gifford I-III, Lo'au is merged with the Tu'i Tonga (Momo). But Momo married Nua the daughter of Lo'au. So Lo'au married his own daughter! This is all of a pattern with the fact that Tu'itātui, the Tu'i Tonga who was the son of Momo and Nua, not only commits incest with his full sister the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (*supra*, p. 250), but also 'marries' Nua, a spirit girl from 'Eueiki (p. 251).

Thus the murdered leper girl of 'Eueiki who becomes kava (Bott I) is associated in multiplex fashion with a complex theme of compounded incest. The leper girl is taboo because of her physical condition; Nua is taboo both because of her association with incest and because she is a 'spirit'. Both girls come from 'Eueiki, and both are given by Lo'au to the Tu'i Tonga, who is Lo'au himself.

This overall confusion between the giver and the receiver of the kava plant, which appears in all the variants of Bott I, is matched at the end of Bott II by the statement that the eldest of 'Aho'eitu's two murderers becomes, as Tu'i Fale Ua, the deputy for his former victim.

*To summarize* in one or other of the stories I have mentioned the following explicit identifications are made:

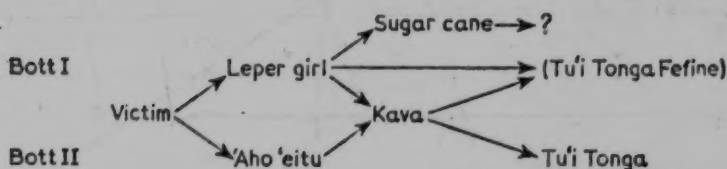
- Nua = Lo'au's daughter
- Nua = Tu'i Tonga's mother
- Nua = Tu'i Tonga's wife
- Tu'i Tonga's wife = Tu'i Tonga's  
sister (Tu'i Tonga Fefine)
- Lo'au = Tu'i Tonga
- Nua = a beautiful (spirit) girl from 'Eueiki
- Kava = an ugly (leper) girl from 'Eueiki

The myth does not explicitly state that Nua, the spirit girl from 'Eueiki, who becomes the ancestress of the Tu'i Tonga, is 'the same as' the leper girl from 'Eueiki who is later consumed

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539 sacramentally as kava, nor does the myth anywhere explicitly  
 773 assert that Nua is the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, but it comes as close  
 as possible to making both these identifications. In any case  
 both myths seem to imply equations between the murdered  
 victim and human title holders through the medium of the  
 kava, as in *Figure 2*.

Figure 2 Mythical transformations in Bott I and Bott II



Further 'equivalences' seem to be implied by the various references to the *kape* plant and to yams. The *kape* root could be used as a food of last resort and the implication of the reference to *kape* in Bott I is that the victim is substituted for the *kape* as an offering of food to 'the King'.

We meet with *kape* again in Gifford V where the girl Nua, who has previously been described as 'an old yam' and has been offered as sexual consort to the Tu'i Tonga, is told by her lover that 'the dripping of water on the *kape* leaf' is to be treated as a sexual invitation.

643 In the pre-Christian Tongan society 'by far the most im-  
 796 portant ceremony at which the Tu'i Tonga functioned was the  
 651 great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods' (Gifford,  
 1929, p. 76). The central feature of this ritual was the offering  
 276 of yams to the Tu'i Tonga. Finally, perhaps we should notice  
 574 Bott's observation (*supra*, p. 213) that 'the pouring in of the  
 water (onto the masticated kava root) is one of the most  
 sacred moments of the ceremony'.

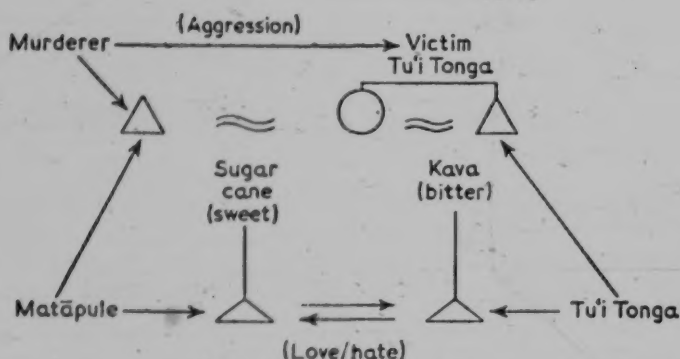
539 We need to notice two particular features of this concatenation  
 773 of symbolic associations. First, there is a quite definite, though  
 somewhat obscure, association between incestuous sex relations

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with a tabooed woman and the drinking of kava as a sacrament.<sup>539</sup> Second, this whole complex of myth fits in admirably with a well-known generalization by Lévi-Strauss who has argued (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, p. 216) that there is always a logical contradiction in any story of first ancestors, particularly in patrilineal systems. For how can 'a first man' beget children except by cohabiting either with his mother or his sister? But if he had a mother, how could he be the first man? The logical contradictions of the coalescence and distinction between Lo'au (Tu'i Ha'amea) and Lo'au (Tu'i Tonga) seem to betray precisely such a problem. A somewhat similar ambiguity is implicit in the circumstance that although both the main myths make a close identification between the murdered victim and the Tu'i Tonga, Bott I makes the victim female and Bott II male; in the female case the associations of the chewing and preparation of the kava are sexual, in the male case the context is straight aggression.

Taken together a set of equivalences and symbolic associations of the following sort seems to be implied (*Figure 3*).

Figure 3 Kava/sugar polarity and symbolic equivalents



Let us return to my hypothesis (p. 248) that in the actual ceremonial the offering of kava is an expression of ancestral ties with high-ranking women.



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554 In real life, Tongan titles can be distinguished as falling into  
 565 one or other of two categories: (i) chiefly titles, which are all  
 in the last analysis 'younger brothers' of the Tu'i Tonga title  
 (*supra*, p. 246) and (ii) matāpule titles, which are all considered  
 to have been derived from 'foreigners' (Fijians, Samoans, etc.)

● [773] who married with Tongan women. In the mythology the rela-  
 tionship between titles of class (i) and titles of class (ii) is  
 treated as a relationship between half-brothers marked by  
 ambivalent attitudes of love and hate.

276 Explicit examples of this ambivalence are provided in Gif-  
 574 ford V (*supra*, pp. 251-2) especially in the story of Fasiapule,  
 554 the *toto*-fruit, and the charcoal. Another story about Tu'itātui  
 565 has just the same implication. Gifford (1929, p. 53) records a  
 643 tradition about this Tu'i Tonga to the effect that he used a  
 773 long stick to hit the knees of his matāpule when they came too  
 close. 'His reason for this practice is said to have been fear of  
 assassination because several Tu'i Tonga had been killed at  
 kava ceremonies by their matāpule.'

276 It is thus rather striking that whereas the formal appearance  
 574 of the real life kava ceremonial exhibits extremely cordial rela-  
 773 tionships between the holders of chiefly and matāpule titles,  
 the mythological counterpart is a set of stories about incestuous  
 relationships and murder.

Taking the mythology and the ritual in combination we en-  
 counter two types of transformation. On the one hand there are  
 permutations that occur within the body of the mythology itself;  
 on the other there are representations in the real life ritual of  
 incidents occurring in the mythology. The principal trans-  
 276 formations may be set out as follows:  
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643 A. Main transformation and identifications in the 'Aho'eitu Story  
 565 (Bott II)

## I. Transformations occurring within the text of the myth itself

(i) 'Aho'eitu (who has a divine father and a human mother)

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is converted into a kava offering in the other world but becomes Tu'i Tonga in this world. 276  
574

- (ii) 'Aho'eitu's divine (paternal) half-brothers are kava makers in the other world but becomes matāpule in this world, except for the Tu'i Fale Ua, a chiefly title, ranking as Deputy for the Tu'a Tonga. 773  
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II. Transformations as between the text of the myth and the performance of the real life kava ceremony

- (i) *In the myth.* The murderer half-brothers of the victim are identical to the kava makers.

*In the ritual.* The matāpule and the kava maker are separate individuals, physically separated, but the kava maker acts under the instructions of the matāpule.

- (ii) *In the myth.* The murdered victim who later becomes Tu'i Tonga is identical to the kava.

*In the ritual.* The presiding chief, a descendant of a Tu'i Tonga, is physically separated from the kava. However, the first action in the ceremony is to present the kava plants and food to the presiding chief and then remove them from him (*supra*, p. 244).

If we accept the mythical identification of matāpule with kava maker and of Tu'i Tonga with kava, then it follows that, in the real life ceremonial, the four main elements are related as:

kava maker : kava :: matāpule : Tu'i Tonga (presiding chief).

B. Main transformations and identifications in the stories about the island of 'Eueiki (Bott I; Gifford I-IV; Gifford V) 276  
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Preliminary comments 773  
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Of the numerous contrasts between Bott I and Bott II (tabulated on pp. 257-8) the following seem especially significant:

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|     |                                       | BOTT I                                                                                             | BOTT II                 |
|-----|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 276 |                                       |                                                                                                    |                         |
| 574 | 4. the victim is                      | female                                                                                             | male                    |
| 773 |                                       | ugly                                                                                               | beautiful               |
| 539 | 14/15. the victim is reconstituted as | two plants:<br>sweet sugar cane<br>from the foot or<br>intestines;<br>bitter kava from<br>the head | the human<br>Tu'i Tonga |

In *Figure 3* it has been proposed that the two plants should be interpreted as the lawful (sweet) and unlawful (bitter) aspects of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine's sexual personality. An alternative possibility, suggested by the above tabulation, is that the sweet and bitter plants correspond to male and female aspects of the Tu'i Tonga title. The ambiguity cannot be resolved without 'intuition'. It seems likely in any case that both the mythology and the ritual has here been modified by 'modern' influences.

The sugar cane and the kava are opposed not only as sweet and sour but also as stalk and root, and I would guess that the sugar cane once grew, neither from the foot nor the 'intestines' of the victim but from her vagina. In the ritual, the sugar cane serves as a prototype food offering (*supra*, p. 244). All modern accounts of the kava ceremonial imply that the drinking of the prepared kava is now of far greater ritual significance than the distribution or consumption of the food, but there is evidence that at one time the food entitlement of individual participants was very important (Gifford, 1929, p. 162). This change of emphasis may be due to the fact that in the pre-Christian era the offering of food had pagan religious significance (*supra*, p. 260); it could also reflect the fact that the three prime titles of Tu'i Tonga, Tu'i Tonga Fefine, and Yu'i Kanokupolu were all combined in the single person of Queen Salote (*supra*, p. 243).

That the symbolic allocation of the kava and the sugar cane is as in *Figure 3* and not the other way round is supported by Gifford (1929, p. 159) where it is reported that when the Tu'i

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Tonga was ill the kava would be described as 'diluted', and that a special kava, accompanied by prayers for a son, was performed when the Tu'i Tonga's consort was confined. Furthermore Gifford (1929, p. 162) seems to imply that claims for personal precedence in the 'alofi circle on the part of individual matāpule and minor chiefs on account of genealogical connection (through women) with the presiding chief were based on particular entitlements to food rather than particular entitlements to drink. 276 574 539 773

Another binary opposition that occurs in the ritual is that between the right and left sides of the 'alofi circle (*supra*, p. 209). This distinction is linked with the allocation of titles to two 'moieties' (Kauhalalalo, Kauhalauta), but this does not seem to be linked with the sweet/bitter opposition or with any other feature of the mythology and I shall not attempt an analysis.

It has already been noted that the myths in the Bott I group appear to be heavily loaded with the theme of incest, but it needs to be emphasized that if the stories are taken to refer to titles rather than to individuals the incestuous elements follow almost automatically from the principles of positional succession. Just as in the classical ancient Egyptian case where Horus and Osiris stood in positional succession, Isis's relation to Horus is that of mother, wife, or sister according to viewpoint, so also with these Tongan stories: Nua is mother-sister-wife-daughter of the Tu'i Tonga. 539 773

I. Transformations occurring within the mythology itself.

- (i) The leprous girl from 'Eueiki, who is the daughter of a matāpule (or of a total stranger) is converted into the two plants of the kava ritual, kava and sugar cane.
- (ii) The beautiful girl from 'Eueiki becomes the mother of the Tu'i Tonga.<sup>8</sup>
- (iii) As a result of incest the Tu'i Tonga Fefine become the mother and 'wife' of the Tu'i Tonga.<sup>9</sup>
- (iv) But Nua, the mother and 'wife' of the Tu'i Tonga is also mother of Fasiapule, a matāpule.

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- 539 The *explicit* mythical statement that the relationship between  
 773 the Tu'i Tonga and matāpule titles is that of 'half-brother  
 through a common mother' thus has the added *implicit* com-  
 ponent that, through incest, the common mother is the Tu'i  
 Tonga Fefine.

539 II. Transformations as between the text of the myth and the  
 773 performance of the real life kava ceremony.

- 276 (i) *In the myth.* 'Eueiki produces two girls one leprous, one  
 574 beautiful. The leprous girl is converted into two plants  
 one 'poisonous' (kava) one sweet (sugar cane).  
*In the ritual.* A distinction is made between the drink  
 (kava) and the food (sugar cane). Distinctions are also  
 made between the passive role of the presiding chief  
 and the active role of the matāpule.

#### THE KAVA AS SACRIFICE

121 In my schematic analysis of the two myths I have referred to the  
 276 killing as a 'murder'. Is it legitimate to see this killing as  
 574 sacramental and to call it a 'sacrifice'? Is the relation between  
 kava myth and kava ritual a charter for a symbolic killing, in  
 the same way as the myth of the Last Supper provides the  
 Christian with a charter for a symbolic meal that commemorates  
 a 'full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice'?

General theories about the 'meaning of sacrifice' fall into  
 three types. First there are versions of Robertson-Smith's  
 'communion theory', which was designed to fit the 'sacrifice'  
 of the Christian mass into a wider universal class. Here the  
 sacrificial victim is, at the moment of slaughter, identified with  
 the deity. The eating of the meat of the sacrifice is deemed an  
 essential element in the rite; the congregation shares a collec-  
 tive guilt in participating in god murder and ritual cannibalism;  
 this collective guilt is an 'atonement', it makes the  
 members of the congregation aware of themselves as a col-  
 lectivity that has jointly sinned yet jointly assimilated itself to

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121 difference to the ideology whether the bond itself – namely the  
276 sacrificial victim – is felt to be identified with the deity, or with  
574 the donor, or with both at once. In the language of structural  
analysis the victim ‘mediates’ the opposition between deity and  
donor.

276 If these theories are applied to the Tongan material that has so  
574 far been considered, several details seem particularly relevant.

(i) In real life ‘kava can be presented ceremonially only by a matāpule; even a titled chief can present kava to the Queen only through a matāpule’ (Gifford, 1929, p. 140).

Therefore, on the sacrifice analogy: the kava mediates the opposition between the matāpule as donor and the presiding chief as recipient. The matāpule titles in real life belong to the descendants of foreigners, and they are persons whose relationship to the Tu‘i Tonga is comparable to that of the foreigner ‘husbands’ of the Tu‘i Tonga Fefine (*supra*, p. 246) <sup>10</sup> and of the mythical ‘Fijian’ (maternal) half-brother Fasiapule (*supra*, p. 252).

773 (ii) In Bott I and its variants stress is placed on the fact that  
539 the parents of the leper girl pay reverential respect to their royal visitor. In Gifford I the rank status of Fevanga, the girl’s father, is expressly specified as that of ‘attendant (*takanga*) to the Tu‘i Tonga’. That is to say, he is a matāpule (see Gifford, 1929, p. 140). The mythical kava-leper girl is therefore again an offering that mediates the opposition between a matāpule as donor and a Tu‘i Tonga as recipient.

(iii) In contrast, in Bott II, the victim’s elder half-brothers are both the donors and the recipients of the sacrifice. There is no opposition that can be ‘mediated’; on the contrary the donor-recipients of the offering carry their identification with the victim so far that they devour him. But here again it turns out that the ritual of the kava has established a relationship between matāpule and Tu‘i Tonga.

[276] This treatment of the material, both ritual and mythical,  
[574] implies the following triads of ‘mediated oppositions’:



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| <i>X</i>          | <i>Opposed categories</i><br><i>T</i> | <i>Mediating third term</i><br><i>Z</i>        |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| donor             | receiver                              | gift                                           |
| matāpule          | presiding chief                       | kava                                           |
| foreigner         | Tongan                                | {wife to foreigner<br>sister to Tongan         |
| sister's husband  | younger brother                       | elder sister                                   |
| half-brother      | half-brother                          | {Bott I common mother<br>Bott II common father |
| Rank derived      | Title derived                         | Ancestral                                      |
| from both parents | from father                           | Tu'i Tonga Fefine                              |

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In each of the three columns *X*, *T*, and *Z* any one of the items is the symbolic equivalent of any other.

## THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE

So finally we return once more to the initial problem of ritual interpretation. In the performance of the kava ceremonial as described above (pp. 207-15) what is really going on? When the matāpule order the distribution of the kava, what is it that is being distributed? Can we ignore the Christian context noted [12] (p. 242)? Is the Eucharistic flavour just accidental?

Bott II explicitly exhibits the Tu'i Tonga being produced by a kava rite, yet structural analysis implies an identification of the kava with the female principle of rank derived from an ancestral Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

Whether we follow the 'overt' implications of the mythology or resort to a structuralist interpretation we are only offered three alternatives as to what the kava 'symbolizes':

Kava is: *either*

The body of the leprous daughter of the matāpule mystically transformed (as in Bott I)

*or*

The body of the Tu'i Tonga himself mystically transformed (as in Bott II)

*or*

Some mystical (incestuous) combination of the male

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and female potencies of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (as in *Figure 3*, p. 261).

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The last alternative is no more metaphysical than the normal Christian assertion that, in the Mass, the bread and the wine become the body and blood of Jesus Christ and, in some mystical sense, a manifestation of his purifying potency.

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This homology with the Christian Mass seems to me too striking to be ignored, but how should we explain it? Does it arise from a subliminal influence of Christian ideas working on the minds of recent Tongan mythographers (*supra*, p. 242), or does it represent a direct parallel between traditional Christianity and traditional Polynesian thought at a structural level of apprehension? As to the first of these alternatives, we have evidence that, in at least one detail, the mythology has undergone a recent modification to keep it in line with a modification of the ritual. Bott I says that the leper girl on 'Eueiki was pounded to death; it thus fits the modern procedure of pounding the kava root. But Bott tells us that the substitution of pounding for chewing in the actual ritual is a recent innovation (*supra*, p. 244).

Evidence of this kind is bound to raise doubts about how far we can regard *any* of the mythology as traditionally authentic, but my own view, for what it is worth, is that the Christian era modifications of pre-Christian materials have not been substantial. It is rather that the more or less accidental fit between certain themes in Polynesian kinship ideology and certain aspects of the Christian dogma of the Virgin Birth have provided a favourable climate for the survival of a very un-Christian body of mythology.

In my own words, the kava ceremonial reduced to its most skeletal form may be described as follows:

A semi-poisonous food substance (the kava plant) is first identified with the Presiding Chief, then it is removed from him and ritually processed according to the instructions of the Presiding *Matāpule* so as to convert it into a sacramental drink which is then imbibed by all the principal title holders present.

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There is a *direct* parallel between this ritual performance and the theme of cannibalism in Bott II. The parallel is also very Christian. The sacramental kava is the 'body and blood of the sacrificed man-god'.

But the mythology of Bott I suggests a different pattern, for in the latter case the emphasis is on paired oppositions rather than assimilation, and on incestuous and non-incestuous sex relations between men and women rather than on love-hate relationships between men.

In the real life ceremonial the 'alofi circle' is in two halves and the semi-circle of the presiding chief stands in polar opposition to the semi-circle of the kava bowl (Bott, *Figure 2*, p. 209).

Considering the sequence as a whole, both in its ritual and in its mythological aspects the following paired relationships are implied, with the qualification, already noted (p. 264), that the (apparent) relative secularity of food as against drink may be a recent modification:

| <i>Ritual oppositions</i>  |                              | <i>Mythological oppositions</i> |             |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| <i>Chief's semi-circle</i> | <i>kava bowl semi-circle</i> |                                 |             |
| matāpule : chief           | kava maker : kava            | sugar cane                      | : kava      |
| secular : sacred           | food : drink                 | non-poisonous                   | : poisonous |
|                            |                              | beautiful                       | : leprous   |
|                            |                              | son                             | : daughter  |
|                            |                              | male                            | : female    |

This patterning of ritual and mythological ideas exists in a secular context in which there is a real life 'contradiction' by which, although titles pass from fathers to sons, sisters rank higher than brothers (*supra*, p. 246).

It is an arrangement that provides the framework for a ritual enactment of a marked ambivalence in the relationship between the presiding chief and the presiding matāpule (*supra*, p. 262). The *manifest* behaviour in the ritual is one of friendly gift-giving, but the implications of the mythical background

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276 are that there is an undercurrent of jealousy and hate (*supra*,  
574 p. 258) and that the assembled matāpule are only willing to  
539 recognize the potency of ritual chieftainship because they are  
773 concerned to assimilate that potency to themselves.

276 For those who are prepared to give any credence at all to this  
574 style of analysis the general significance of the ceremony has by  
539 now become very obvious, indeed it has been indicated al-  
773 ready at several points during the course of this essay.<sup>11</sup>

177 When the male titleholders sitting in the 'alofi circle drink the  
771 kava and receive the distributions of sugar cane these are  
sacramental foods in the same sense as are the bread and wine  
of the Christian Mass. At a mystical level they are the equivalent  
of the divine potency that distinguishes the Tu'i Tonga and the  
Tu'i Tonga Fefine from ordinary mortals.

Of the two substances, it is the kava rather than the sugar  
cane that now carries real sacramental value and the signifi-  
cance of this fact is to be found in the circumstance that not  
only are the Tu'i Tonga descended from an original incestuous  
relationship between a male and female Tu'i Tonga but that  
the matāpule are likewise so descended. 'A great aristocrat is  
one descended, preferably through a line of elder sisters, from  
the elder sister of the Tu'i Tonga' (Bott, p. 218).

By the ritual drinking of kava the titleholder concerned  
reaffirms his aristocratic status, he assimilates to himself once  
again the magical, matrilineally inherited, potency of his  
divine ancestors. By so doing he asserts his equality, or even his  
superiority, to the personal status of his presiding chief.

When one considers that in Christian theology, Jesus is  
divine by filiation from the Father but human and royal by an  
ambiguous filiation through the mother, it is not after all  
surprising that the kava mythology, in its modern form, despite  
the hints of cannibalism and incest, should make mystical  
sense to devout Christians.

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## FINAL NOTE ON METHOD

Let me return to my initial thesis. The analysis that I have presented employs a combination of 'structuralist' and 'functionalist' techniques. In so far as I use functionalist assumptions I have operated intensively within a very narrow range of ethnographic data and I have adhered to the Malinowskian dogma that myth and ritual are two aspects of the same thing. But I have combined this orthodoxy with many features of structuralist procedure and I believe that the outcome is to be preferred to either a functionalist or a psychoanalytical interpretation of the more usual sort because it depends much less on intuition. Even so my argument might be criticized as superficial. Even if Bott were to agree that the mystical identity between the kava on the one hand and the potency of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine on the other has now been established (as I think perhaps she does), she might still argue that the concatenation, in such a context, of themes of cannibalism and incest is too suggestive to be ignored and that, at this 'deeper' level, the Freudian approach adds insights that neither functionalism nor structuralism can provide. On this issue I am not fully persuaded one way or the other. Certainly the convergence between Bott's Freudian approach and my own structural analysis seems very striking. But it was Audrey Richards's *Chisungu* that first convinced me that these matters are far more multivalent than I had once supposed, so it is to Audrey that I now offer this essay in uncertain analysis.

## NOTES

1. In terms of our value system it might further appear that the younger half-brother is in each case 'illegitimate', but Dr Bott assures me that this would not be the case according to Tongan idiom.

2. 'The basic meaning of the term *mātāpule* seems to be sister's husband (M.S.)' (Gifford, 1929, p. 29). Hence it is a term of respect. As a *titile*, it denotes the ceremonial attendant of a chief. Titles are hereditary in the male line and in most cases the patri-  
lienages that own *matāpule* titles are of 'foreign' origin, e.g. they are supposed to have come from Fiji or Samoa.

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565 3. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine held office until death so that she might  
554 be, on occasion, the reigning Tu'i Tonga's father's sister.  
644

539 4. Eua is the smallest of the inhabited islands of the Tongan  
773 group. 'Eueiki is ordinarily uninhabited and, as is well known to all  
Tongans, it is very difficult to land there because of the nature of the  
reef (Bott, personal communication).

539 5. Bott comments that this notion of 'illegitimacy' is modern.  
773 Formerly 'in the bush' meant 'of low rank', i.e. the offspring of a  
848 temporary liaison between an important man and a woman of low  
554 status. The child of a liaison between two aristocrats of comparable  
status would not be described in this way (cf. p. 246).

276 6. Bott, p. 216. 'There are other linguistic links with the idea of  
kava as a poison. *Kavafisi* and *kavahaha* are creepers used as fish  
poisons. The word "*kavahia*" means to be nauseated.'

773 7. Cf. note 5. 'Aho'eitu has a human mother and a heavenly  
539 father.

8. One explicit tradition asserts that the child of Nua, the girl  
from 'Eueiki, was named Uanga and that this Uanga succeeded as  
Tu'i Tonga (Gifford, 1924, p. 49).

9. Gifford (1924, p. 46), which records the incest of Tu'itātui  
with his sister Latūtama, implies that the child of this liaison was  
named Talamata and that Talamata succeeded as Tu'i Tonga.  
Gifford (1929, p. 53) assumes that Uanga and Talamata are two  
names for the same historical individual.

276 10. Although the 'original' Tu'i Lakepa is supposed to have been  
574 a Fijian who was elder sister's husband to a Tu'i Tonga this title is  
not now considered to carry *matāpule* rank (Bott, personal communi-  
cation; cf. Gifford, 1929, p. 34).

276 11. Firth (1970, pp. 199-233) gives an account of kava ritual  
574 and myth in Tikopia which can usefully be compared with the  
539 analysis given above. In Tikopia, as in Tonga, there are two main  
773 versions of the mythology but the roles are reversed. A healthy boy  
171 replaces the leper girl; a female spirit who 'dies' in childbirth and  
then survives as the Female Deity of Tikopia replaces the male  
'Aho'eitu who is murdered and then survives as the Tu'i Tonga. The  
Tikopia libate their kava; the Tongans drink theirs. It may be  
noted that the appearance of the Female Deity in the Tikopia  
pattern is consistent not only with the function attributed to the Tu'i  
Tonga Fefine in this present paper but also with other characteristics  
of the Female Deity to which I have drawn attention elsewhere  
(Leach, 1961, p. 21).



## A rejoinder to Edmund Leach

ELIZABETH BOTT

I find myself captivated by the intellectual elegance of Dr Leach's analysis. I accept as plausible the series of symbolic links establishing the mystical identity between kava on the one hand and descent from women on the other, and, with a little misgiving, descent from the Tu'i Tonga Fefine in particular. The symbolic linking of Kava (the leprous girl of 'Eueiki) with Nua (the beautiful spirit girl of 'Eueiki) seems indisputable, and the two Nua are the Tu'i Tonga's daughter, his mother, and his wife. (Nua 1 is the daughter of Lo'au who is equated/confused with the Tu'i Tonga. Nua 1 is also the wife of Tu'i Tonga Momo and the mother of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui. Nua 2, the spirit girl of 'Eueiki, marries Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui.) Kava is equivalent to the Tu'i Tonga's sister only through an indirect link: Kava = Nua = Tu'i Tonga's wife = Latūtama, the sister of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui. Assuming that Nua 1 is the mother of Latūtama as well as the mother of Tu'i Tonga Tu'itātui, which the myth does not explicitly state, the link between kava and the sister of the Tu'i Tonga is more direct, for then Kava = Nua = mother of Latūtama.

All this fills in much more adequately what Leach rightly calls my 'wild guessing' about the links between the 'Aho'eitu myth and the kava myth. And from it follows the conclusion that whereas the seating of the ceremony expresses the fixed and theoretically unchanging relationships of *titles* to one another, the making and drinking of kava reaffirms the aristo-

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[p. 277]

278 *Elizabeth Bott*

114 cratic status of the *titleholders* and their mystical assimilation  
 276 to their divine ancestress, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

● 773 Of the many equivalences that can be established, it seems  
 539 to me plausible that the kava itself embodies not only the  
 [574] divine ancestress, the Tu'i Tonga's sister, but also the Tu'i  
 Tonga. Kava and sugar cane grow out of the earth-buried  
 body of the murdered leper girl. But 'Aho'eitu grows out of  
 the body of an earth-woman, and is then chewed, spat out  
 and mixed with water as if he himself were kava. Out of this  
 grows the Tu'i Tonga, so that when the kava is ritually con-  
 sumed, what is being assimilated is not only the leper girl/Nua/  
 daughter/mother/wife/sister of the Tu'i Tonga, but also the  
 Tu'i Tonga himself. Thus the kava making and drinking would  
 express the mystical union of man and woman, the derivation of  
 man from woman and woman from man, and the insoluble  
 puzzle of the first ancestor.

114 There is a detail that neither Leach's analysis nor mine  
 276 fully explains. In the kava ceremony of the Tu'i Kanokupolu  
 574 and Ha'a Ngata, which was the type observed by Mariner,  
 539 Gifford, and my husband and me, the sugar cane (or pork) is  
 773 distributed to the kava drinkers, but they do not eat it. The  
 kava drinkers summon their 'grandchildren of high rank'  
 (*mokapuna 'eiki*) to take it away. According to the kava myth  
 both the sugar cane and the kava plant grew out of the body  
 of the murdered leper girl, but the sugar cane grew out of a  
 lower part of the body. I agree with Leach that the ritual and  
 mythological oppositions establish sugar cane as secular/food/  
 non-poisonous/beautiful/son/male/of lower rank – many of  
 these being attributes concerning titles and the relationships of  
 political authority and obligations that titles involve. Further,  
 the Tongan word for the food presented to the kava drinkers is  
*fono*, which is a homonym for a political meeting at which a  
 chief gives orders to his people. It looks as if there is a para-  
 doxical difference between the female substance (kava) and  
 the male substance (*fono*) that grow out of the leper girl/  
 beautiful boy. The female substance is of higher rank than the

*A rejoinder to Edmund Leach* 279

male substance but can be consumed. The male substance is of lower rank but can only be consumed by those of higher rank than the kava drinkers. The male substance is thus simultaneously 'lower' and 'higher', just as brothers are simultaneously lower and higher than their sisters – lower in rank but greater in political power.

On one occasion I observed a kava ceremony of the 'King of the Second House' (Tu'i Fale Ua or Tu'i Pelehake), to which title the last Tu'i Tonga is said to have bequeathed his kava rites. In this ceremony the chief ate his *fono*. So did the Falefā, the titles of the four mythical half-brothers of 'Aho'eitu, and so did certain other 'foreign' matāpule who are said to have been specifically exempted from the *tapu* of eating in the presence of the Tu'i Tonga. Unfortunately I did not discover whether the King of the Second House ate his *fono* in his capacity as Tu'i Tonga or in his capacity as King of the Second House. Cook is the only authority I have found who gives a description of the Tu'i Tonga's kava ceremony, and he does not include this detail. The present-day eating of the *fono* in the kava ceremony of the 'King of the Second House' may therefore mean either a ritual repetition of the original eating up of 'Aho'eitu, or, more probably, a symbolic statement to the effect that only titles that are either (a) the embodiment of the Tu'i Tonga or (b) ritual outsiders can assimilate themselves directly to the male principle of the Tu'i Tonga/Tu'i Tonga Fefine.

What of Leach's claim that structuralist analysis is 'intuition free'? In the sense that the analysis uses as data only texts, ceremonies, and abstractions of organizational principles, it is relatively free from contamination either by the observer's or the informants' imputations of meaning and feeling to behaviour. Fieldwork becomes unnecessary, except that one must have a little contact with informants in order to collect texts, observe the ceremonies, and abstract the organizational principles. The analysis requires familiarity with and acceptance of the condensations, displacements, representation by

84 *Capes.—Bays.—Straits.—Reefs.—Mountains.*

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172 for every first-born son in the district. This wall stretches across an isthmus for 250 feet, with a thickness of 6 feet at the base and greatest height of 5 feet.

764 The great tomb (lagi) of Talafaiva, the beautiful wife of the illustrious Tu'i Toga, Tele'a, is on the island of 'Euakafa, in the south of Vava'u.

## CAPES, BAYS, STRAITS AND REEFS.

133 The chief capes in Togatabu are Niu Aunofu or Van Diemen Pt. in the north-west, Houma Toloa or Cook Pt. in the south, and Mui Hobohoga or East Cape. In Lifuka, Ha'abai, the capes are Hulu'ibaogo in the south-west (where Cook saw a mound named Ta'agakiki, now the site of a cemetery) and Muikuku in the north-west where Cook anchored and also where the "Port-au-Prince" was attacked. The chief capes of 'Uta Vava'u are Muioulo, Fata, Muiatalau, Muikilikili, Nukumalolo, Vaifakalava, Tubounia, Mata'utuliki, Matakinia and Houma Fakalele.

133 The anchorage on the western shore of 'Eua was named English Roads by Cook. Maria Bay in the north-west of Togatabu was named by Tasman after Maria Van Diemen. In the lagoon of Togatabu, Faga Kakau and Faga 'Uta are sometimes marked as Bay of Bea and Bay of Mu'a. Port Maurelle in Kaba, Vava'u, commemorates the name of the Spanish discoverer. Boatalefusi is the local name of the far-famed harbour of Vava'u. Other bays in Vava'u are Port Refuge, Vaiutukakau, Liku'one and 'Onetale.

The chief straits or passages in Togatabu are Biha or Eastern Passage, Ava Lahi and Egeria Channel. Of the numerous straits marked on Ha'abai charts the most important are Ava Auhagamea, Ava Vaha'afonua and Ava Matanukubule. The chief channels in Vava'u are Ava Bulebulekai and Faihava.

1643  
228 Pelorus Reef, south of 'Atā, was discovered by H.M.S. "Pelorus" in 1861; it marks the southernmost extremity of Tongan waters. North-west of Togatabu are Hakau Tabu, where only the fishermen of the Tu'i Kanokubolu were allowed to fish, and Hakau Mama'o. West of Nomuka is Hakau Fiji, where a large steamer was wrecked in 1924. Hakau Muikuku, Hakau Faka'ojitome and Luahoko are the most well-known of the innumerable reefs of Ha'abai.

## MOUNTAINS.

733 The list of islands in Appendix E shows their heights. A Few hills are high enough to deserve names. The most important of these in Vava'u are Mo'ugalafa (610 feet), Talau (430 feet) and Kafoa (430 feet), and in Kaba the hill Teisina (310 feet). Two small hills in Togatabu have names: Bobua or Holohiufi or Cook's Hill (108 feet), near Ma'ofaga, said to have been cast down from the sky by Tagaloo 'Eitumatubu'a to provide good soil for the garden of his son, 'Aho'eitu; and Veigo or Fugajia or Zion (60 feet), the site of the old fort and latterly of a church overlooking Nuku'alofa.

A [See Category 133, pp. 95-107—Analyst.]

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater respect than even her father or brother. Her daughter was called the Tamaha (= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in 1852.<sup>(7)</sup>

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race. Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.<sup>(8)</sup>

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time.

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had recourse to their religion.

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger. Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulumotu, the paradise beyond the ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore.

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both religious and social reasons. Pulumotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life.

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MR. J. J. LISTER ON THE GEOLOGY

[Eua Island]

133 wide opening, overarched by a natural bridge of the limestone rock, the under surface of which is festooned with stalactites. The sea entering beneath the arch washes the bases of the nearly vertical sides of the chasm. The place is called by the natives Matalanga Maui (or the hole made by the implement for planting yams belonging to the god Maui). The manner in which the chasm has been excavated appears obvious. At the foot of the cliffs there are several caves in different stages of excavation, which are formed by the sea wearing back the volcanic rock where it is exposed beneath the limestone. The Matalanga Maui has been formed by the removal of the volcanic rock to such an extent that the cave has approached the surface of the terrace and the roof has fallen in.

I may here recapitulate the main features which seem to be indicated by the structure of Eua.

The presence of the plutonic rock points to the existence of an ancient and much denuded mass of such a character in the vicinity.

In the neighbourhood of this mass, and at a considerable depth below the surface of the sea, a volcanic eruption occurred, forming a mound, some of whose upper layers were mingled with pelagic organisms as they were laid out.

It appears that the mound was elevated above the surface, considerably denuded, and afterwards depressed to such a depth, at least, as to submerge its summit.

A covering of calcareous organisms was deposited on the volcanic basis while it was submerged; but so far as the evidence goes the formation is a shallow-water one. The island has since been again elevated by stages to the present height.

During periods when the elevatory forces were in abeyance, the sea wore back the already emerged limestone-deposits, forming terraces bounded by lines of cliff, but in one case at least (namely, the western terrace a) it appears that a true coral-reef was formed in the neighbourhood of the shore.

Dr. Murray finds that it is impossible to assign the organic deposits of the island to a definite geological epoch. Though he is of opinion that they are old, there is no satisfactory evidence to refer them to the Tertiary period.

(c) *Islands formed entirely of Limestone.*

The islands forming the remarkable group of Vavau differ widely in their shape and arrangement from coral islands in general.

Vavau consists of one large island which gives its name to the group, and of a number of smaller islets (see Pl. XXIII.). Vavau Island presents a high and fairly even coast-line to the north and north-east, bordered by limestone cliffs from 300 to 500 feet in height. On the south and south-west the general lie of the land is lower than that on the northern coast. Long promontories stretch out from the main mass of the island, separated by narrow and deep



/251 cont./

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intelligent men are convinced that spirits exist (671)

671. These are today known as tevolo (devils),  
as a result of mission work.

and are seized with cold fear, for example, while riding horseback  
at night in bushland. It sometimes happens that Tongans report

(787)

ghastly experiences which they allegedly had with such spirits. Some  
natives also believe, as they did in the past, (672)

771  
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672. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 236.

787  
825

that the call of the sikota bird announces disaster and that it  
embodies the voice of a dead person. The fata is similarly regarded

(763)

as a bird of death; if they hear it at night, the early death of a  
villager may be expected. The tapu that has degenerated to nothing  
more than simple magic in the form of using taboo against theft on  
field products and fruit trees by means of /attaching/ bunches of  
foilage (673)

784  
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673. Leaves wrapped in raw tapa (feta'aki) with a  
strip of feta'aki hanging on it to mark it;  
the thief stealing fruit on which a taboo  
has been placed is supposed to be punished  
with certain illnesses (for example, ulcers,  
paralysis).

(753)

was still used up to a few decades ago; today the natives rely on  
their own vigilance, and in places where they suspect plantation  
thefts they station cooperative groups of watchmen. (674)

(753)

674. See also pp. 99-102 on taboo in present-day  
Tonga; some natives also still believe that  
it is not good to take food leftovers and  
cigarettes from a chief; ulcers on the chin  
area are supposed to be the consequence.

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The beautiful old myths are mostly forgotten, except for those that  
are today taught in the schools and that have kept the character of  
fairy tales that people like to listen to but that they do not  
believe to be true. When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,

773 /251 cont./ When earthquakes which are frequent in Tonga,  
178 occur, some people, as in old times, (675)  
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675. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 120;  
789 J. Wilson, A missionary voyage /cited  
796 in English/. pp. 277/278.

still make a noise in order to quiet the demigod Maui who carries the earth on his shoulders and, on such occasions, moves because of his uncomfortable position; not all natives, however, are aware of the meaning of this noise-making.

346 Today, every Tongan village has several churches, and even settlement on the tiniest islands of the Archipelago are not satisfied with only one of these more or less simple houses of God. The reason is /252/ that there are now seven different denominations among 795 this people of 50,000 souls: the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, the 794 Free Church of Tonga, the Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church, the Latter Day Saints, (Mormons) the Seventh Day Adventists and the Church of England /all cited in English/. The Mormons, the Adventists and the Church of England have been working for only a few decades in Tonga, and have only a small following so far. A larger number of Tongans belong to the Catholic church, which has done mission work in the Archipelago since 1842, but even they are a minority compared to most of the nation which is Wesleyan. The Wesleyans are split up into three churches of which the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga is the largest and comprises more than half of all Tongans.

The reasons for the origin of three Wesleyan churches are the following:

Around the middle of the previous century practically all Tongans were Christians, and the great majority of them were Wesleyans. They belonged to the Wesleyan (Mission) Church of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church which was under the authority of the Australasian Conference. In 1885 King George Tupou I, with the aid

## A Fisheries Survey in Tonga

203

The women then move on to the next one and so on until the fish find shelter under the coral in the basket. The basket is then quickly lifted to the surface, the corals thrown out, leaving the fish. 226

(f) *Ta 'atu*. This method of fishing is carried out only by the people of Ha'ano in the Ha'apai group. A school of fish known as *atu* visits Ha'ano's beaches several times a year. It seems strange that this species does not appear in any other island of the Kingdom. There is a legend which tells of some connection between the chief of the island "Tu'iha'angana" and the '*atu*'. Even if it is only a myth, this primitive way of fishing still exists today. [115]

When the school is known to approach the island, the chief and all women and children must go inside their houses making no noise whatsoever, not leave their dwellings whilst the men lie in wait at the beach for the '*atu*' to move closer to the shore. When the fish comes to rest near the beach, the men with their *hau* or hook in readiness, enter the water in single file at two points to form a semicircle, thus enclosing the school against the beach and herding them closer and closer.

The fishing now starts. Every man chops with his *hau* into the mass of fish. A fish, being hit and pierced by the *hau* is quickly pushed right through the hook and on to the connecting line where the catch is strung until the campaign is over. This goes on until the school is so disturbed that they either jump on to the dry sand or to break through the human blockade. At this stage, the fishermen not wanting to chase the '*atu*' altogether from their beaches, gather their catch and go ashore, leaving the others to reorganise and enjoy the liberty of the beach without further disturbance until next time. The inhabitants of the island can now resume their normal duties but the beach is *tapu* for some days. [184]

## 2.—TRAP FISHING.

(a) *Moka* is a fish trap built of roots for catching a sort of herring, in Niuatoputapu called *otule*. [825]

(b) *Fish Fence*. A fence made of sticks and wire netting is put up in shallow water in such an angle that, when the tide is in, the incoming fish, when hitting the fence, are